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Selections FROM Sanskrit Inscriptions

Vol I, Part II.

(From 2nd cent. to 8th cent. A.D.)

Introductory Historical and Literary Notes
and a complete Translation into English

Containing also portions from Dr G. Buhler's essay on
"Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry"

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PREFACE

These Notes on the fifteen selected inscriptions from the 2nd cent to the 9th cent. A. D. contained in the First Part (of Vol I) of my Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions have been prepared so as to demonstrate both the literary and the historical value of the inscriptions. They will therefore be found useful as well to the student of Sanskrit Literature, who wants to study the inscriptions merely as specimens of Sanskrit *Kavya*, as to one who seeks to find in them items of useful information for his study of Ancient Indian History and Culture. In compiling them I have derived very valuable help from the writings of all those scholars who had once edited the inscriptions critically and who had written notes to elucidate several points specially historical, connected with them. I express here my gratitude to them.

In the Appendix I have given important portions from the late Dr G. Buhler's very valuable essay on 'The Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry' which was originally published in a German periodical in 1889 and whose English translation by the late Dr. V. S. Ghate was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XLII, 1913. The essay deserves to be read by those who want to know how inscriptions are useful for the history of Sanskrit Literature and how they constitute not a small and unimportant portion of the already vast Sanskrit Literature. My sincere thanks are due to the Joint Editors of the *Indian Antiquary*, specially to the late Mr S. M. Edwards, for allowing me to copy the essay from the Journal.

No. 1

Girnar Rock Inscription of Rudradaman.

General Remarks—This inscription is incised on the western side near the top, of the famous rock which also contains the edicts of the great Maurya emperor Asoka as well as an inscription of the Gupta king Slandagupta about a mile and a half to the east of the town of Junagadh in Kathiawad and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the famous mountain Girnar. It contains twenty lines of varying length of well engraved writing which covers a space of about 11·1" broad by 5 5" high. Of these only the four last lines are fully preserved, while each of the remaining lines has suffered considerable damage.

The inscription was first brought to light by Col. Tod in 1832 in the *J A S B.* Vol VII p 338. After that several scholars edited it in various journals. The latest edition accompanied by an excellent facsimile was published in the *Ep. Ind.* Vol VIII p 36 ff by Dr. Kielhorn. See No 965 of Luder's List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the earliest times in the App of *Ep. Ind.* Vol X.

The inscription is a non-sectarian one, its immediate object being to record the rebuilding of the lake Sudarśana in the reign of the powerful Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman. The contents of the record can be thus summarised—

The lake Sudarśana situated at a short distance from Girnar-gara, was originally constructed under orders of the Maurya (emperor) Chandragupta by his provincial governor Vaisya Pushyagupta, and was completed under orders of the

Maurya (emperor) Asoka by his governor, the Yavana King Tushaspha. But it was destroyed by the excessively swollen floods of the Suvarnasikata, Palasini and other streams of the mount Urjayat on the first of the dark half of Margasirsha in the seventy second year of the king, the Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman, who was the son of the Kshatrapa Jayadaman and son's son of Svami Chashtana and who was a very great king being lord of the eastern and western Akaravanti, the Anupa country, Anarta, Surashtra, Svabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu, Sauvira, Kukura, Aparanta, Nishada and other territories gained by his own valour, and had destroyed the Yaudheyas and had completely vanquished Satakarni, the lord of Dakshinapatha and had himself acquired the name of Mahakshatrapa, and who was also a kind, learned and accomplished man. He carried out the work of repairing the dam of the lake through his viceroy of Anarta and Surashtra, named Suvisakha, the son of Kulaiya, a Pahlava, spending a large amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people by taxes, forced labour etc. The new dam of the lake was three times as strong in breadth, length and height as the destroyed one and the lake was provided with conduits, drains and means to guard against waste water.

Poetical Importance of the inscription—The whole of the inscription is in Sanskrit prose. It does not give the name of the author. But there can be no doubt that the poet was of a very high order. The piece is written in the Kavya style and possesses the characteristics of the Vaidarbhi ritu as laid down by Dandin in his Kavyadarsha.

Looking at the language in general of the inscription, what strikes one at once is the extreme dearth of verbal forms. In the text as preserved there are only two finite verbs, शते in line 5 and शास्ते in line 13, and even in its complete state the inscription could not have contained more than four such verbs viz.,

in addition to the two just mentioned, probably another *अवृत्* in line 15 p 2 and perhaps one verb in line 16. This scarcity of verbs will cause no surprise to the reader of classical prose works. While the chapter on conjugation takes the comparatively largest share of a Sanskrit grammar and presents considerable difficulties to the student, prose writers often employ only a few of the most common verbs and easiest verbal derivatives. On the other hand—and here again our text agrees with some of the best prose works—we find in the inscription a decided predominance of compounds over simple words. But throughout, these compounds are plain and easy to understand, so that there is nothing embarrassing about their prevalence.

The author's disposition of his subject matter is simple and lucid. His object being to record the restoration, by the Mahakshatrapa Rudradāman, of the lake Sudarśana near which the inscription was engraved, he treats of his theme in six sentences, five of which have for their subject the words 'this lake Sudarśana' with which the inscription opens. This lake is now in an excellent condition. It was destroyed by a storm during the reign of Rudradāman. All the water having escaped, the lake, instead of being 'Sudarśana' became 'durdarśana'. The lake had been originally constructed during the reign of the Maurya Chandragupta and was perfected under the Maurya Aśoka. It has now been restored and made more beautiful than ever (*sudarśanatara*) by Rudradāman, under whom this work has been carried out by the provincial governor Suvisakha. From this it will be seen that the greater part of the text is devoted to the actual restoration of the lake, which naturally furnishes the occasion for a full eulogistic description and a record of the exploits, of the Mahakshatrapa by whom it was accomplished. The previous history of the lake is sketched in a short though historically important sentence. On the other hand, a vivid and striking account is given of the storm by which the lake and the surrounding country were devastated, in a piece

of writing which, mutilated as it is, shows the writer to have been endowed with no mean poetic power. Prof. Buhler has well shown that the author, trusting to the effect of a plain, yet forcible narrative and characterisation of events and individuals, makes spare use of those, often merely conventional, ornaments which abound in later inscriptions. With the exception of a play on the word Sudarśana the name of the lake, and one or two cases of an उपमा the so-called अर्थालंगारs may be said to be absent from his text. On the other hand, he shows a decided predilection for that kind of शब्दालंगार which consists in the repetition of one and the same group of syllables in neighbouring words as e.g. in प्रदरणवितरण, समयाणां...दिव्याणां दिव्याणां, अविधेयानां यौधेयानां, नाम्ना...दाम्ना.....दद्राम्ना, शक्तेन दाःतेनाचपलेनाविस्मितेनायेणाहायेण सेतुबन्धेनोपपञ्च सुप्रातिष्ठितप्रगलिपरी वाहमीदिविधानं, (Kielhorn).

The literary merits of this inscription are shown in details by Dr. Buhler in his German essay, which is translated into English by Dr. V. S. Ghate and published in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1912. The portion of his essay dealing with this inscription is copied below in App. I for the convenience of readers.

Historical importance—The inscription is of very great historical importance. We know from it that the great Maurya emperors Chandragupta and Asoka, were particular in undertaking irrigation works in so distant a country from their capital as that of Kathiawad. The inscription gives us more information regarding Rudradāman than is available for any of the other Kshatrapa kings. It enumerates the names of several nations of which Rudradāman was an overlord. They are Akarāvanti, Anūpa, Anarta, Surāshtra, Śvabhra Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu, Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta and Nishāda. These comprise a country roughly from Bhilsā in the east to Sindh in the west and from Abu in the north to the North Komkona in the south including the peninsulas of Cutch

and Kathiawad The inscription also mentions two wars waged by Rudradaman one with the Yaudheyas and the other with Satakarni lord of Dakshināpatha

The Kshatrapa family which was founded by Chashtana according to some scholars the founder of the Saka era-ruled long from 78 A D to about 400 A D, Twenty eight kings seem to have ruled in it At one time they seem to have held Malva, Ruputana Cutch Kathiawad Gujarat and even a portion of the Deccan According to Ptolemy Chashtana was ruling at Ujjain which seems to be the capital of the early Kshatrapas In this inscription Suvarshas is said to have been appointed to govern Anarita and Surashtra by Rudradaman which also suggests that Rudradaman's capital was outside Kathiawad probably at Ujjain A few inscriptions and a very large number of coins are found of this family, which enable us to prepare their genealogy (See Rapson's *Catalogue of coins of the Andhras Kshatrapas etc*,) though nothing is known regarding them from either Indian or foreign literary sources Besides the present one five more inscriptions are found in Cutch of Rudradaman four of which give the year 52 for his reign.

Date of the inscription—It is not known when the inscription was engraved but it is stated that the dam of the Sudarśana lake was burst in the month Margasirsha of the year 72 of the king Rudradaman which is commonly supposed to refer to the Saka era (see J R A S 1899 p 365 and Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan* p 35) and thus corresponds to November 150 A D It may be noted that the dam was not burst at the advent of rainy season as it had been in the reign of Skandagupta See No 4 below v 26 Therebuilding of the dam which must have been commenced after sometime as there was some difference of opinion among the ministers as to the feasibility of the scheme was completed with out the interval of a long time अनतिनदृता कालेन (I 23 p 2)

It must have taken about a year or two. The restoration of the same dam of the lake was made again by Skandagupta's viceroy in the period of two months (see v. 35 of No 4 below). The dimensions of the breach as mentioned in the text were much bigger than those of the later breach and must have occupied the rebuilders one or two seasons after the work was taken in hand, probably after the rains of the year 151 A. D. We may therefore suppose that the dam was repaired and the inscription was set up in the year 152 or 153 A. D.

Notes—**લ. 1, તદાકં**—The word occurs in the same form in No 4 below. ગિરિનગર—'the hill city' is the earlier name of the town of Junagadh or its ancient representative. નિ:સંખ્યચદ્વદ્ધ—strong because (it was) constructed without joints i.e. with imperceptible joints. It is well known that in ancient India the strength of masonry depended on the massive blocks laid with very fine joints. પ્રાણાલી conduit, water-course. In the original text of the inscription the word is spelt as પ્રાણાલી, (once it is spelt as પ્રાણાદી). Similarly are spelt the words પાણી and પાણક occurring below in this inscription. The occurrence of the Dravidian ઙ which is a feature of modern Gujarati, as distinguished from North Indian Vernaculars, can thus be traced to this early period. પર્ણિવાહ—drain, મેઢાવિધાનં—According to Drs. Bhagavanlal Indraji and Buhlar મેઢ is synonymous with ચંમૂલું and the expression means ' the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of bovine urine,' bouke phedor.' But Dr. Kielhorn differing from them says that the word મેઢાવિધાનં really forms part of the *balavrikhi* compound commencing with સુપતિવિદ્ધિત and therefore either મેઢ by itself or મેઢાવિધાનં must denote something that was provided for the lake just as conduits and drains were provided for it. In his opinion મેઢ is identical with the Pali મોલ્લ meaning 'excrements or dirt, foul matter' generally: મેઢ is used in this sense in the *Lalitavistara* e.g. in મેઢાળિર a 'dunghill.' Now since foul matter

would not have been provided for the lake that which was so provided must be denoted by **मोदविधान** and this word therefore means 'arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities' By the context **विधान** here as elsewhere becomes equivalent to **प्रतिहार**, **प्रतिक्रिया** **सुप्रतिविहेत**—well furnished with **महाक्षत्रप**—The epithet **क्षत्रप** or **महाक्षत्रप** was used in a particular period of the ancient Indian history by the governors of the **Saka** kings, who subsequently formed independent kingdoms and became Hinduised The title **Kshatrapa** appears nowhere as a title of any king or royal officer within the whole range of Sanskrit literature or indeed on any inscription or coin of any Indian dynasty except the so called **Kshatrapa** families According to the Sanskrit lexicography it seems to mean one who protects the **Kshatriya** caste **क्षत्र पातीति क्षत्रपः** but it is originally not a Sanskrit word it is a Sanskritised form of the Persian word **Satrapi** meaning a governor (See *Bom Gaz* Vol I.1 p 21) **सुगृहितनामन**—Meaning the mention of whose name brings purity' was an epithet many times applied in old times to royal or noble personages both living and deceased It occurs often in **ईर्ष्यारित गुरुभिरभृतनाम**—Whose name is repeated by the worthy It is a **सापेक्ष्य** compound **गुरुभिरभृतनाम**. This seems a somewhat stronger expression than **सुगृहीतनाम** The use of **अभ्यस्तु** and the statement that Rudradaman's name was repeated by **गुरु**s at once suggest the notion that for these revered personages the name was like another **Veda**, demanding assiduous study and devout veneration, and yielding the most precious fruit With this expression compare **गुरुभिरभृतनामध्य** (**स्थान-पासन** I) **रुद्रदामनो द्वयं द्वासप्ततिसम सार्वशीर्षवहुत्प्रतिपदाया**—Though the expression literally means in the 72nd year of Rudradam in himself it is to be understood as 'in the reign of' The year is of the era used by Rudradaman [and the **Kshatriya** is generally], which is taken by many scholars to be the **Saka** era Taking the year in the ordinary way as an expired year the Christian equivalent of the date would be either 18th

October or more probably the 16th November, 150 A. D. पुकण्ठवभूतायां etc.—For the notion of the earth's 'being converted into one ocean compare e. g. *Ramayana* V. 49. 20. (अर्यं ह्युत्सहते कुद्धः कर्तुमेकार्णिवं जगत् ।) उर्जयत्—This denotes the mountain now called Girnar. See notes in No. 4 below. सुवर्णसिकता—is a small perennial stream now called सोनरेखा. See notes in No. 4 below पलाशिनी—This name is not preserved in these days. £. 11, अट्टालक—an upper story. उपतरण—Dr. Bhagavanlal means by it 'pieces of the neighbouring ground' Prof. Buhler interprets as 'pinnacles of temples.' Dr. Kielhorn supposes that the words अट्टालकोपतरण of the text are identical in sense with तत्पाट in *Raghu* XVI, 11 (विशीर्ण-तत्पाटशतं निवेशः)—तत्पाट meaning 'a room on the top of a house' or 'upper story'. उच्छ्रुय—Drs Bhagavanlal and Buhler mean by it 'pillars of victory.' But Dr. Kielhorn thinks that the whole word शरणोच्छ्रुय i. e. उच्छ्रुयशरण means 'any raised place serving as shelter.' It will be seen that the word उच्छ्रुय 'elevation' is in contrast with the word विधंसिन् immediately following it. युगनिधन i. e. युगान्त of a speed furious as at the time of the destruction of the 'world. £. 15, मरुधन्व—a waterless tract or sandy desert. सुदर्शन became दुर्दर्शन cf v. 31 in No 4 below. मैथिस्य—The Maurya family in which the great emperors Chandragupta and Asoka were born is generally said to be a low Śudra family deriving its name from a woman named Mura. According to Dr. Hemachandra Raychaudhuri (*Political History of Ancient India*) the Moriyas (Mauryas) were the ruling Kshatriya clan of Pippalivana (near Nepal) in ancient times. They were among the tribes, who claimed a share of Buddha's relics on his death. चन्द्रगुप्तस्य—He was the 'first great emperor of India of the historical period. He got the empire by murdering the Nanda emperor of Magadha with the help of Chanakya, the famous author of the immortal *Arthashastra* and held it with rare ability from 332 B. C. to

297 B C. राष्ट्रियेन—The word seems to have been used here in its etymological sense : i.e. one who is appointed to rule a province or district. (राष्ट्रधिकृत). It is found used in some Sanskrit plays in its technical meaning 'a king's brother-in-law' Some scholars have proposed that meaning in the present case. But it seems better to take the word in its etymological sense. According to Dr Hemachandra Raychaudhuri (*Opit cit*) the epithet is equivalent to imperial high commissioner. He suggests that the Rāshtriya who is not mentioned either in the Arthashastra or in Asoka's edicts was probably identical with the Rashtrapala who drew the same salary as Kumāra or princely viceroy of royal blood.

पैद्येन—The Vaidyas according to Varahamihira are a people of the western division (see *Ind Ant* Vol XXII p 192) अशोकस्त—The great Buddhist emperor who was the son of Bindusara and grandson of the great Chandragupta. He ruled from about 274 to 237 B C कृते—The reading is conjectural. यवनराजेन तुपास्फन—He must have been some Chief of Persian descent as the name indicates. But some scholars consider him to have been a Greek.

P. 2, 1, 4, अधिष्ठय—'after having assumed the Government अधिष्ठाता=to govern. The same meaning is to be understood in the expressions अधिष्ठान and अधितिष्ठता. सर्ववर्गेरभिगम्य रक्षणाप्य पतित्ये वृतेन—Prof D R Bhandarkar (*Ind Ant* 1918, 154) supposes that this expression indicates that Rudradaman had regained the kingdom of Malwa and Kathiawad which was wrested from his father or grandfather by Gautamiputra Satakarni. This is also proved by the boast of Rudradaman that the title of Mahakshatrapa was acquired by himself and was not inherited. In this inscription he is said to be the lord of Alaravanti, Surashtra, Kukura and Aparanta the countries which were formerly in the possession of Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni as the Nasik inscription (*Ep Ind* VIII p 60, *Luders List* No 1123) shows. L 4 अ.यन रुग्रामेषु—अन्यन generally governs an ablative but the locative also is not wrong अन्यन

अभ्र—According to Rapson this term denotes the country on the bank of the Sabaramati (Skt. Śvabhramati) See also *Ind. Ant.* VII 259 If this is right the term denotes northern Gujarat Then Ānartta and Surashtra must mean northern and southern Kathiawad मरु—Marwād कच—Modern Cutch सिंधु—Sindh सौवारी—It may be either the south-east Sindh or the Sindh bordering on the desert Some take सिंधुसौवारी as one word denoting the country comprising of Sindh and Multan districts कुकुर—According to Sir R G Bhandarkar it is identical with that portion of Rajaputana which is called Kīn-che-lo by Hīnētī Tsāng (E H D 17, n 4) According to Dr Bhagavanlāl Indraji it denotes "probably part of East Rajputana" (Bom. Gaz. I. 1. 86, n 7) But according to Prof. D R Bhandarkar it is probably modern Gujarat as it is associated with Aparanta in the Nasik cave inscription of Gautamiputra and in this inscription (*Ind. Ant.* 1918 p 150) R B Gurishankar Ojha suggests that it may represent the Kukareśvara Mahal of the Holkar State, which is in the north-east of Mandsor in C. I. अपरान्त—The word literally means the Western End Ptolemy, who was contemporaneous with Gautamiputra and Pulumavi divides Ariake (Abiratike—Aparanta) into four sections, two on the sea-board and two situated inland Of those on the sea-coast the northern corresponded to the Thana and Kolaba Districts and the southern to the Ratnagiri and North Kānara Districts Of the inland parts the northern was very nearly coincident with the country watered by the upper Godavari and the southern included the Kauarese-speaking districts of the Bombay Presidency (D R Bhandarkar *Ind. Ant.* 1918 p 150) The *Mahabharata* Adi (p 218) and the *Markandeya P* (37th Chap) also include in Aparanta this whole tract But the portion of Aparanta subject to Rudradaman seems to have been the country further north between the Mahi and the Damanganga as the time the north Komkana was subject to the Āndhras निषाद—probably

the territories of the Vindhya mountains inhabited by Nishādas i. e. wild tribes such as the Bhils. The Nishādas were an aboriginal race, a forest people, and were scattered all over Northern and Central India (See Pargitar, *Markandeya Purana* pp. 360-61). L. 10, पत्ता—In the original the form used is पत्ता. Similarly the Prākrit form वीशदुत्तराणि is used above, P. 1, l. 14, in the original. L. 11, यौधेयानां—These were known as a warlike race from the earliest times and are mentioned as warriors by Panini (V. iii. 117). Their habitat was the tract round the Bahawalpur State. Like the Mālavas these appear to have had a democratic constitution. Several round copper coins bearing the legend यौधेयगणस्य जय in Gupta characters of the 3rd cent. A.D. have been found in N. W. Provinces. Cunningham's *Coins of Anc. Ind.*) This tribe is also mentioned as having been defeated by Samudragupta (No. 3 below) A fragmentary inscription of a Yaudheya King probably of the 3rd cent. is found at Bijayagadh in Bharatpur State in Rajaputana (F. G. I. No. 58). दक्षिणापथ—lit. the path of the south was the technical expression for Southern India. The analogous technical expression for Northern India was Uttarā-patha, which is found used in some inscriptions (F.G.I. p. 13. n. 5). But in this inscription Āryāvarta is the name used for Northern India, and it is the more common one. सातकर्णी—This must be Gautamiputra Satakarni, according to Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar but Yajnaśri Satakarni according to Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji (see below). निर्व्यञ्ज—Without any pretext i. e. in a fair fight; or it may mean completely. समवधाविद्वरतया—From the Kanheri inscription it is seen that the wife of Vāsishthiputra Satakarni was the daughter of Rudradāman. Satakarni was thus the son-in-law of Rudradāman. Now Vāsishthiputra was the son of Gautamiputra. Satakarni's connection with Rudradāman was thus by no means intimate and can be described as 'not remote'. (D. R. Bhandarkar *Ind. Ant.* 1918 p. 155). Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji on the other hand thinks

(*Bom Gaz* I : 38) that Yajnaśri Satakarni was the contemporary of Rudradaman and that he was through his mother (who was a Mahakshatrapa's grand-daughter) related with Rudradaman According to Mr Smith (*E H I* IIIrd ed p 211) Vasishthaputhri Śri Pulumayi was the son-in-law of Rudradaman and he was himself defeated twice by his father-in-law According to Prof Dubreuil (*Ane Hist. Decc* p 43) Vasisthiputra Śiva Śri Satakarni was the Mahakshatrapa's son-in-law and was defeated twice अद्यराजप्रदीप्तुपकेन— Cf अनेकार्थराज्ये तस्मराजवंशप्रातिष्ठापन in No. 3 इस्तोर्छय etc—Some scholars suppose by this epithet that Rudradaman made many religious gifts But Dr Kielhorn says that the expression ' the raising of the hand ' is not found used where donations are spoken of Both in literature and in inscriptions what characterises the hand of a person engaged in making any kind of gift, is that it is *moistened* by the water poured into the hand of the donee cf. Kadambari p 5 अनवरतप्रयुतदानार्द्धकृतकर., *Gupta inscr* p 175, प्रदानसलिल्लालिताप्रद्वस्तारविद् etc Occasionally the person who makes a gift is described as *taking* or *raising the pitcher* from which the water is poured into the hand of the recipient Ramayana II 118 50 अ॒ तत्र रामाय पित्रा ..उद्यता दातुमुद्यम्य जलभाजनमुत्तम् । In the present case therefore the expression इस्तोर्छय instead of meaning to convey the idea of donation should better be taken in the sense of the dispensation of justice ' For according to Manu (VIII 2) a King when investigating cases of law should do so seated or standing ' raising his right hand ' (पाणिमुद्यम्य दक्षिण). Rudradaman must have earned the strong attachment of Dharma i e Justice by the raising of his right hand i e by the proper dispensation of justice शक्तार्थ—This expression may be understood to denote two sciences शक्त (i e शद्विद्या or grammar) and अर्थ (i e अर्थविद्या or ' science of polity अर्थशास्त्र) . Or if taken as one word it may denote only one science viz. the science of words and their

meanings i. e. grammar including lexicography. The word is many times found used in the latter sense. e. g. शद्वायन्दाय-
स्तोऽहः कविः Fleet Gupta Inscr. p. 35. पारणाधारणविज्ञान—reading
remembering and perfectly knowing. प्रयोग—practice.
L. 15, तुरग etc.—cf. Rāmāyana I. 18-27. गजस्तन्वेऽश्वरुष्टे च
रथचर्यासु सम्मतः । The epithet means that by his skill in the
management of horses etc. he rendered futile the acts of
quickness etc. of opponents. चर्या management नियुद्ध-या युद्ध
close fight, personal fight. स्थूललक्ष—bounteous. cf. Halayudha
II.210 स्थूललक्षोऽयद्वययो गवाच्ययो generous. गुलक-
a toll. विध्यन्दमान-overflowed.
L. 18, स्फुर...गद्यपद्य...after पद् the words काव्यविधानप्रविष्टेन are
restored by Dr. Buhler. The epithet means something like
' who is skilled in producing compositions in '. The adjectives
स्फुरः etc. in the text have probably a reference to certain rules
of Sanskrit Poetics. स्फुर, मधुर and कान्त indicate the qualities
प्रसाद, माधुर्य and द्वितित of Dandin's Kāvyādarśa (I. 45,51 and 85).
Thus स्फुर means ' clear ', which denotes Dandin's *Arthavyakli*
that depends on author's giving verbal expression to his
thoughts instead of leaving them to be guessed. मधुर ' sweet '
or ' full of sentiment ', and ' कान्त ' lovely '. Similarly शद्वसमय
is synonymous with शद्वायन्द in Kāvyādarśa I. 75. शद्वसमयोदार
means ' grand through the conventional use of words (Buhler).
The poet means by this expression that language in which are
used proverbial words and attributes commended by poets.
स्पृष्ट means ' pleasing ', it denotes Dandin's *prasāda*. Mr. K.G.
Sankar suggests that it means ' simple or easy '. The expres-
sion does not mean ' short ' as is translated by some. चित्
means ' exciting wonder ', which probably denotes ' *ojas*' force.
L. 50, स्वयमधिगतमहाक्षत्रपनामना—This epithet indicates that
Rudradāman had regained the title of Mahākshatrapa which
belonged to his grandfather Chashana but not to his father
Jayadāman. प्रणयकिया—Dr. Bhagavanlal means by it a kind

of tax like the modern 'प्रीतिदान'. But Dr Kielhorn suggests that the expression may denote 'offerings' or contributions, which nominally are voluntary but which people feel constrained to make to please somebody Mr K G Sankar suggests that it means 'benevolences in the technical sense पौरजानपद जन-
 This seems to be a *pada* of an ordinary Sloka The same expression is many times found used in the Ramayana It may be noted that in the inscription there are a number of words which occur often in epic poetry अनुस्ताह—i e अनर्थ उत्साह a futile or impossible task प्रत्यारपातारम—This is the subject of अनुष्टुप्, that of which the commencement was opposed was carried out' P. 3, L 1 द्वा हा भूतासु cf. वयद्यन ना खलु सर्वतो जना etc in v 30 of No 4 below पह्लवेन—Some writers look upon the Pahlava or Pallavas as foreigners Persians or Parthians The trade connection between the Persian Gulf and the W Indian seaboard must have led to the settlement from very early times of the Pahlavas who were gradually converted to Buddhism But others are of opinion that they are an indigenous class formed in Southern India Early records connect the Pallavas with the country in Northern India which was ruled by the kings of the Andhra dynasty When subsequently they were expelled by the Andhrabhrityas they set out to seek their fortune and settled near Conjeeveram where they founded a glorious dynasty, (*Historical sketches of the Deccan* p 15 ff) See also the note in No 12 below

Translation

This lake Sudarśana from Girinagara even so well joined in construction as to rival the spur of a mountain, with all rows its embankments strong in breadth length and height constructed without gaps and made of stone clay furnished with a natural dam formed by . . . and with well provided conduits drains and means to guard against foul matter, . . . three

sections.....by.....and by favourable conditions in a highly prosperous condition.

This same (lake)—on the first day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in the seventy-second-72nd-year of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman whose name is repeated by the venerable, the son of the king, the Kshatrapa Jayadāman, (and) son's son of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Lord Chashtana the taking of whose name is auspicious,.....when by the clouds pouring with rain the earth had been converted as it were into one ocean, by the excessively swollen floods of the Suvarnasikata, Palasini and other streams of mount Urjayat the dam.....though proper precautions (were taken), the water churned by a storm which, of a most tremendous fury as at the time of the end of the world, tore down hill-tops, trees, banks, turrets, upper stories, gates and raised places of shelter—scattered, broke to pieces, (tore apart)—with stones, trees, bushes and creeping plants scattered about, was thus laid open down to the bottom of the river'!—"

By a breach, four hundred and twenty cubits long, just as many broad, (and) seventy-five cubits deep, all the water flowed out, so that (the lake), almost like a sandy desert, (became) extremely ugly (to look at).

.....for the sake of.....ordered to be made by the Vaisya Pushyagupta, the provincial governor of the Maurya King Chandragupta, adorned with conduits for Asoka, the Maurya by the Yavana king Tushaspha, while governing and by the conduit ordered to be made by him, constructed in a manner worthy of a king (and) seen in that breach, the extensive dam.....

.....he who, ever since he was in the womb was characterised by the possession of undisturbed consummate Royal Fortune, was resorted to by all castes and chosen their lord to protect them ; who made, and is true to, the vow to

the last breath of his life to abstain from slaying men, except
 in battles who (showed) compassion . . . not
 failing to deal blows to equal antagonists meeting him face to
 face who grants protection of life to people resorting to him
 of their own accord and those prostrating themselves before
 him who is the lord of the whole of eastern and western
 Ākaravant; the Anupa country Ānarta Surashtra, Śvabhra
 Maru Kachchha Sindhu Sauvira Kukura Aparanta,
 Nishada and other territories gained by his own valour the
 towns marts and rural parts of which are never troubled by
 robbers snakes wild beasts diseases and the like,
 where all subjects are attached to him (and) where
 through his might the objects of [religion] wealth and
 pleasure (are duly attained) who by force destroyed the
 Yaudheyas who were loath to submit rendered proud as
 they were by having manifested their title of heroes among
 all Kshatriyas who earned fame because he in spite of hav-
 ing twice in fair fight completely defeated Satakarni the lord
 of Dakshinapatha on account of the nearness of their connec-
 tion did not destroy him who (obtained) victory
 who reinstates deposed kings who by the right raising of his
 hand has earned the strong attachment of Dhārma who has
 attained wide fame by studying and remembering by the
 knowledge and practice of grammar music logic and other
 great sciences who the management of horses
 elephants and chariots (the use of) sword and shield pugil-
 stic combat and other the acts of quickness and
 efficiency of opposing forces who day by day is in the habit
 of bestowing presents and honours and eschewing disrespectful
 treatment who is bounteous whose treasure by the tribute
 tolls and shares rightfully obtained overflows with an
 accumulation of gold silver diamonds beryl stones and
 (other) precious things who prose and
 verse, which are clearly agreeable sweet charming beautiful
 excelling by the proper use of words and adorned, whose

beautiful frame owns the most excellent marks and signs, such as (auspicious) length, dimension and height, voice, gait, colour vigour and strength, who himself has acquired the name of Mahākshatrapa ; who has been wreathed with many garlands at the *swayambhavas* of kings' daughters ,—he, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, in order to.....cows and Brāhmaṇas, for a thousand of years, and to increase his religious merit and fame without oppressing the inhabitants of the towns and country by taxes, forced labour and acts of affection—by (the expenditure of) a vast amount of money from his own treasury and in not too long a time made the dam three times as strong in breadth and length.....(on) all (banks).....(and so) had (this lake) made (even) more beautiful to look at.

When in this matter the Mahākshatrapa's counsellors and executive officers, who though fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers, were averse to a task (regarded as) futile on account of the enormous extent of the breach, opposed the commencement (of the work), (and) when the people in their despair of having the dam rebuilt were loudly lamenting (the work) was carried out by the minister Suviśākha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who for the benefit of the inhabitants of the towns and country had been appointed by the King in this government to rule the whole of Āuarta and Surashtra, (a minister) who by his proper dealings and views in things temporal and spiritual increased the attachment (of the people), who was able, patient, not arrogant, upright (and) not to be bribed, (and) who by his good government increased the spiritual merit, fame and glory of his master.

No 2.

Mehrauli Posthumous Iron Pillar Inscription of Chandra.

General Remarks—This inscription is incised on a tapering iron pillar 16 in diameter at the base and 12 at the top and 23 ft 8 inches high standing near the Kutub Minar in the village Mehrauli nine miles south of Delhi. The pillar would appear to have been erected originally as a standard to support an image of Garuda in front of a temple of Vishnu. It is an interesting feature as affording evidence of the capacity of Hindu civilization in the 4th cent A D to weld malleable iron on so ambitious a scale (Page *Guide to the Qutb Delhi*.) The inscription contains six lines of beautiful writing. It was first published by James Prinsep in 1834 in *Journal of the Asiatic Society Bengal* Vol III p 494. Its latest edition by Dr Fleet is published in his *Gupta Inscriptions*.

The inscription is a posthumous eulogy of the conquests of a powerful king named Chandra. It is a Vaishnava inscription its object being to record the creation of the pillar which is called a *Dhvaja* of the god Vishnu on a hill called Vishnupada by the king who successfully invaded the Vanga countries, crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu conquered the Valhikas and had invaded as far as the southern ocean.

The poetical importance—The inscription which consists of three verses in the Sardulavikridita metre is a short piece of beautiful poetry. The simile used in v 2 is very striking. The following *alankaras* deserve to be specially marked एकदशवि ति रुक्मि v 1, 1 2 असम्भवि in v 2 1 2 and वरेधाति in 1 4

Historical importance—No information is given in the record about the lineage or the date of the king Chandra in our inscription. This has raised a controversy among scholars about the identity of the king that has not yet ended. There are three sets of opinion, one favouring the identification of this king with Chandragupta I, the first *mahārāja dhirāja* of the early Gupta dynasty, the other identifying him with Chandravarman, son of Simhavarman, and grandson of Jayavarman, king of Pushkarana (modern Polharna in Jodhpur State) mentioned in the Susunia inscription and the third identifying him with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. The followers of the third theory—one of them is my friend Mr. K. G. Sankar—are few. They maintain that the description of the very wide conquests suits only in the case of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II, who ruled no doubt upto the ocean. V. A. Smith had first held this view (*J. R. A. S.* 1897 p.) but later he was converted to the second theory. (*E. H. I.* 1914 p. 290). The strongest argument against this theory is that the characters in the inscription are a little earlier than those in the inscriptions of Chandragupta II. The inscription was moreover engraved after the death of the king Chandra mentioned in it.

The real controversy therefore exists between scholars holding the first two opinions. Fleet, Radhagovind Basak and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar are of the first opinion; while M. M. Haraprasad Shastri, V. A. Smith and R. D. Banerji hold the second opinion. Those scholars who identify Chandra with Chandraputra I argue as follows—

Chandra carved sole supreme sovereignty (पृथिवीराज्य) in the world by means of his own arms, and enjoyed it for a long time and led his arms of conquest to the distant countries of Vanga in the east and to the country washed by the mouths of the Indus in the west and also towards the south. This statement applies more to an early Gupta ruler

of the fourth century than to any local king of any of the small states then ruling independently in N. India. So it is very likely that Samudragupta's father Chandragupta I, whom we know to have been the first *Mahārājādhīrāja* of the Gupta line tried to extend the empire by making the conquests of Bengal, the Panjab, and also probably of the south. It is for this reason that we do not find any mention of the conquest of Bengal in Samudragupta's Allahabad *prāśasti*. Dr. Krishnasvami Aiyangar, who has recently discussed this point at some length in *Journ. Ind. Hist.* Vol. VI, pt. II, University Supplement, Studies in Gupta History, p. 14 ff., is a strong supporter of this theory.

Scholars who identify Chandra with Chandravarman reply to this argument in the following way—

Though it is true that Chandragupta was the first *Mahārājādhīrāja* of the Gupta dynasty the existing evidence in both the epigraphic and numismatic fields cannot prove that Chandragupta I had led an expedition into the North-West or the south or that Bengal was included in his kingdom. The rigid silence of the Allahabad *prāśasti* of Samudragupta lead us to suppose that Chandragupta did not campaign. The *prāśasti* clearly indicates that Samudragupta was the first to make the wide conquests described in it. We have reason to believe that the kingdom of Magadha was acknowledged as the paramount power in India only during the time of Samudragupta and that the title of *Mahārājādhīrāja* was probably bestowed on Chandragupta I by his descendants. The Guptas are mentioned in the *purāṇas* as reigning over the country comprised within Prayaga, Sāketa, and Magadha. This was the territory which was possessed at his death by Chandragupta and it was extended by the conquests of his son Samudragupta. On the contrary we have evidence of the possession of a part at least of Bengal by Chandravarman in the Susunia rock inscription of Chandravarman son of Simhavarman.

king of Pushkarana (Ep. Ind. vol. XIII p. 133). The inscription proves that a king named *Chandraravarman* from Pushkarana (modern Pokharna in Jodhpur State) had come as far as W. Bengal and left his mark on the hill. This is just in keeping with the statement in the Meharauli inscription that Chandra had defeated a combination of his enemies in the Vanga countries. According to Mr. N. K. Bhattachari the king *Chandraravarman* mentioned in the inscription of *Samādrādeva* (Ep. Ind. XVIII p. 86) who built a big fort in Bengal is to be identified with king Chandra of the Meharauli inscription.

Another point is that Chandra in the Meharauli inscription is said to have enjoyed the suzerainty acquired with his own arm for a long time (प्राप्तेन स्वमुजाजिर्वच सुचिरं चक्राधिगात्यं जिती) While there is a consensus of opinion among Orientalists for assigning a very short reign of ten or at the most fifteen years to Chandragupta I.

A third point in favour of the identification of Chandra with Chandraravarman is that both the inscriptions are Vaishnava. King Chandra had raised a staff of Vishnu on the *Vishnupada* hill, while Chandraravarman had incised the wheel of Vishnu on the *Susunia* hill.

Date of the inscription—The inscription is not dated but we can assign it roughly to 330 A. D. sometime before Samudragupta ascended the throne and made his wide conquests. The date cannot be much changed even if we identify our Chandra with Chandragupta, which seems to be more probable.

Notes—वाङ्ग—*in the Vangas* i. e. in the Vanga country. In Sanskrit the tribal name in the plural is regularly used to indicate the country inhabited by the tribe. The Vanga country is undoubtedly the eastern Bengal of modern times. खड्ग etc. i. e. the sword cuts on his arms remained the emblems of his fame as victor cf. वणशताक.....वर्षणः in No. 3 below.

वाहिका—Vahlikas i.e. the Vahlika country Vahlīkā (also Bahlika, usually spelt as Valhika or Valhika) is explained as the ancient form of modern Balkh. It has however been pointed out that this rendering cannot well be applied to Chandra's exploits and that the tribe vanquished by him should probably be located some where in Baluchistan. This conclusion is indeed unavoidable if we adopt the above rendering of the passage which says that Chandra conquered the Vahlikas 'after having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the river Sindhu i.e. the Indus' "The Mahabharat (Bhishma 9 17 and Karna chap 37 38) however, locates them in the Panjab i.e. on the Sindhu. A dynasty of three Bahlika rulers in the region of Mahismati on the Narmada is located by the Puranas. One of the three divisions of the Suriseri Prakrit is named Bahlika which was spoken somewhere between Malva and eastern Panjab. From all this it seems that the Bahlika as in our record should be looked for within the frontiers of India without going so far out as Balkh in a portion of India which would necessitate the crossing of the seven mouths of the Indus and Sindhu is such a region (Dr Krishnaswami Aiyangar *op. cit.* p 15) सप्तमुखानि—Seven mouths of the Indus Dr Vogel (Memoir of the Archl Surv of India No 22 p 44) suggests the expression may also indicate the *sapta sindhavah* of the Rigveda i.e. the river Indus and its tributaries. The term *mukha* would then have to be taken in the sense not of 'the mouth of the river' but rather in that of 'a riverhead यस्याद्यामि etc—the southern ocean is even today i.e. even after his death being perfumed by the breeze of his prowess i.e. who proceeded towards the South for making conquests मृद्युं...क्षिति—What is meant to be said here is that Chandra removed his physical body from the earth but lived in it in fame, and that is what expressed by his giving up the earth only to go on to another world to live in. While therefore he may be regarded as having left the earth which he conquered, his fame did not leave it, but

found a permanent home here. शृंतस्य etc., The meaning is that like the great forest fire which, having completely burnt the forest out and subsided, lay covered over with ashes, so also the fire of his valour, though it might seem extinguished, having completely destroyed the efforts of his enemies, still remains dormant in the recollection of those that had suffered from it, as the forest fire itself. (Dr. Aiyangar). सुचिं — According to Dr. Aiyangar it denotes 'long continued efforts' in acquiring the empire. Chandragupta I had to undertake a long war against the Vākatakas whose power was greatly rising in the west, against the Bāhlikas probably the kinsmen of the Kshatrapas for expanding his empire. एकाधिराज्य—The condition of being the sole Adhirāja. Adhirāja lit. supreme king denotes the same thing as maharaja मावेन—According to some Paleographists the correct reading of the text is धावेन and not मावेन. Some scholars take धावि as the proper name of the king called Chandra. Dr. Aiyangar takes धावि to mean 'pure minded' as an adjective of भूमिष्यति. विष्णुपदे गिरे—On a hill called Vishnupada i. e. (the hill marked with footprints of Vishnu. The hill is probably to be identified with that part of the Delhi Ridge on which the column stands. (F. G. I. p 140.) ध्वजः—cf ध्वजस्तंभ flag-staff' used in some other inscriptions. The surmounting figure on the column must have been Garuda, the vehicle as well as the ensign of Vishnu.

Translation.

V-I, He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when in battle in the Vanga countries, he kneaded (and turned) back with (his) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (him). he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhу the Vāhlikas were conquered,—he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed ;—

V, 2, He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (his) enemies, like, (the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a burned out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth though, he the king, as if wearied, has left this earth and has gone to the other world moving in (bodily) form to the land (of paradise) won by (the merit of his) actions, (but) remaining on (this) earth by (the memory of his) fame,—

V, 3, By him, the king—who attained sole supreme sovereignty on the earth acquired by his own arm and (enjoyed) for very long time, (and) who, having the name of Chandra, possessed a beauty of countenance like (the beauty of) the full-moon—having with devotion fixed his mind upon (the god) Vishnu, this lofty standard of the divine, was set up on the hill (called) Vishnupida

No. 3.

Allahabad Stone Pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

General Remarks—This inscription of exceptional importance was first published in 1834 in the J. A. S. B. Vol III p 118 ff. It was last edited with a facsimile by Dr. Fleet in his *Guṇṭa Inscriptions*, p 1 ff. It is engraved on a round monolith sandstone column, thirty five feet in height at present standing inside the Allahabad fort. But there is reason to believe that it originally belonged to an ancient place called Kauśambi, modern Kosam, twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad. For the column contains an edict of Aśoka addressed to the governors of Kauśambi engraved above this inscription. The writing which covers a space of about 6' 1" broad by 5' 4" high and which consists of 33 lines has suffered very much in its upper part.

The inscription is non-sectarian, its object being to record the setting up of a pillar in honour of the great emperor

Samudragupta who was the son of Chandragupta by his wife Kumāradevi of the Lichchhavi family and the grandson of Ghatotkacha and the great grandson of Gupta, and who was a man of learning and fine arts and a liberal patron of the learned men. Considering his qualities he was selected by his father (Chandragupta I) to succeed him to the throne of Pushpapura (i. e., Pataliputra). In the prose portion his conquests are enumerated. He forcibly uprooted many kings of Āryāvarta including Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandravarman, Ganapatināga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nandi and Balavarman, conquered all the forest kings, defeated but reinstated as tributaries the kings of the southern India like Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja of the great forest, Mantarāja of Korala, Mahendra of Pishtapura, Svāmidatta of Giri Kottur, Damana of Erandapalla, Vishnugopa of Kānchi, Nilarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Pālakka, Kubera of Devarāshtra and Dhananjaya of Kausthalapura, and made to pay homage the (frontier) kings of Samatata, Davaka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāl, and Kartripura, and the clans of the Malavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Mādrakas, Ābhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakanikas, Kākas, and Kharaparikas and the nations of the Daivaputra, Śahi, Śāhanuśahi, Śakas, Murundas and the Simhalas of the island. This poem which thus extols the wide conquests and merits of Samudragupta was composed by Harishena, the minister of peace and war, the counsellor of the prince and the general, who was the son of the general Dhruvabhāti. It was executed by the general Tilabhattaka.

Historical importance of the Inscription—From the contents of the inscription given above it will be seen that this epigraphic record is a unique one among Indian annals in its wealth of detail. In the conquests of Samudragupta it gives us abundant historical information as to the divisions of India, the tribes and the kings that lived and ruled about the middle of the fourth century A. D. Though it is at present impossible to identify every one of the countries,

kings and peoples enumerated by the poet Harishena enough is known to enable us to form a clear idea of the extent of the dominions and the range of the alliances of Samudragupta. His empire seems to have included the larger part of the Indian Peninsula. Such a great emperor—not only a great warrior but a poet and a patron of poets and a man of high accomplishments was unknown even by name to the historians of India until this valuable record was discovered. Several scholars have attempted to identify these kings chief of whom are V. S. Smith (*J. A. S.* 1897 pp. 859) Allan (*Cat. Gupta coins* p. VI) Prof. Dubreuil (*Ancient History of Deccan*) K. N. Dixit (*Proc. First Or. Confer.*) D. R. Bhandarkar (*Ind. Hist. quarterly* I 250) G. Rāmdas (*Ibid.* p. 679).

The inscription being a piece of poetry, *Kāvya*, as the composer himself states, rather than a historical document the conquests of Samudragupta do not seem to have been arranged in a strict chronological or geographical order. He must have for instance first turned his arms against the powers nearest him and thoroughly subjugated the kings of Āryavarta before he proceeded to conquer the kings of the southern India though the poet has mentioned the latter before the former. Harishena classifies Samudragupta's campaigns geographically and also according to the degree of the success he got in them under five heads as that directed against the kings of Āryavarta nine of whom—Rudradeva, Matila etc. are named. These kings were forcibly rooted up, a process which necessarily involved the incorporation to their territories in the dominions of the victor. The kings of Dālśināpūtha eleven of whom—Mahendra of Kosala, Vṛṣaghatajā of the great forest and so on—are mentioned were next vanquished but re-instated by him. The chiefs of the wild tribes which he reduced to subjection are not specifically named. The rulers of five frontier kingdoms Sam-

atata, Davāka and others and of the nine republics.—Mālavas, Arjunāyanas etc. were made feudatories. Lastly the rulers of the four foreign nations—Daivaputra and others, who were almost independant were entered into diplomatic relations.

It will thus be seen that the dominions under the direct government of Samudragupta comprised the whole of Northern India extending from the Hooghly on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west, and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to the Narmada on the south. Beyond these limits the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gange-tic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, and the free tribes of Rajputana and Mālvā were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance; while almost all the kingdoms of the south had been overrun by the emperor's armies and compelled to acknowledge his irresistible might. But Prof. Dubreuil under-^{estimates} the conquests of Samudragupta in the Deccan
See his *Ancient History Of Deccan* p. 60.

Prof. Radhagovind Basak supposes that the poet Kalidas, who lived in the time of Chandragupta II and Kumārgupta and even for some time during the reign of Skandagupta, describes the conquests of Raghu in the well known epic, *Raghuvamśa* (Canto IV) very probably to commemorate the military operations of Samudragupta's son Chandsagupta II (*Proceedings of the Calcutta Ori. Conf.* p. 325) Prof. Bhide thinks in the same way (*Proc. Poona conf.*)

Date of the inscription — The inscription is unfortunately not dated. But since it describes the wide conquests of Samudragupta we must assign the inscription to a sufficiently later period of his reign. The inscription moreover gives an account of the personal accomplishments of the emperor. He is said to have been proficient in music, to have composed numerous metrical works worthy of the reputation of a good author and to have been a patron of the learned men. The

inscription also leads us to infer that before the time of the inscription the emperor had issued his coins bearing the legend पराक्रमङ्क and those depicting the emperor comfortably seated on a high-backed couch and engaged in playing the lyre Samudragupta must have enjoyed sufficient leisure to cultivate these arts and to patronize learned men. He must have also taken some years after his accession to the throne to complete these conquests. It is also to be noted that there is no allusion to the horse-sacrifice in this inscription, which was revived by Samudragupta as we know from the inscriptions of his successors and probably also from his Eran inscription (F G I No 2). It is thus clear that this inscription was engraved after he came home from his wars and before he performed the Horse-sacrifice. See Allans Catal Gupt coins p. 188. He is supposed by scholars to have reigned from 335 to 375 A.D. We can therefore assign our record approximately to 350 A.D.

Poetical importance of the inscription — The inscription is as valuable a piece of Sanskrit poetry as it is a historical document. Its literary merits and its usefulness for the history of Sanskrit literature are very well shown by Dr Buhler in his essay which is copied below in App. Suffice it to say here that Harisena's panegyric which has been specially designated as a *kavya* belongs to that variety called *Champu* which is made of a mixture of prose and verse (‘गद्यपद्यन्य काव्यं चम्चूरित्यभिवायते’ सा हस्तियःपग) The eight introductory stanzas the long prose passage that follows and the concluding stanza form one single gigantic sentence. This *Champu* reveals Harisena as a poet of no mean order. Everywhere as pointed out by Puhler Harishena seems to make conscious efforts to excel contemporary writers of *prashastis*. He displays certain well-marked characteristics of his literary style. First the style employed in metrical and prose passages is different. The language of the stanzas is usually simple and free from long and involved compounds and shows Harisena to be a follower

of the Vidarbha School. But the prose passage displays with a vengeance the quality ojas or vigour, defined us consisting in a profuseness of compounds ('ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद् गवस्य जीवितम्.') Harisena has made himself responsible for one of the longest compounds in the language. A characteristic of his compounds is that their concluding part comes upon us as a surprise and is consequently very often involved and clumsy. Thus in the compound परशु...वर्षणः (11. 34-35) the concluding portion should naturally have read शोमोपचित्वर्षणः. Similarly the longest compound could as well have ended with शोश्नुप्रहजनितमहा- ११.४४. Again the next compound रुद्रदेव...महतः (11. 39. 40) would ordinarily conclude with प्रसोद्धरणलव्यमहाप्रभावस्य. Another peculiarity is that between the long compounds Harisena inserts short phrases at definite intervals in order, as Bühler so beautifully puts it, to enable the reciter to draw his breath and the hearer to catch the sense. Then again in the long compounds, the words are so chosen as to bring about a certain rhythm through the succession of short and long syllables; and care is taken to see that this rhythm changes from time to time. Harisena also uses some figures of speech, namely, Anuprasa and Ślesa from the Śabdālamkāras and Rūpaka and Upamā from the Arthālamkāras. That he uses only a few figures is due to the fact that the Alamkāraśāstra was so developed then. (Gajendragadkar).

The metres used in the poem—The few letters that remain of the first two verses are not sufficient to show what metres were used in them. In the remaining verses the following metres are used: स्त्रघ्नी vv. 3, 5, and 8; शादू विकीर्ति vv. 4 and 7; मन्दाकान्ता vv. 6; and शिखरिणी vv. 9.

Notes—V. १,—यः—from the beginning to भुजो याहुरय ।—द्वृतः स्तम्भः (1, 13 of p. 6) is one long sentence. All the eight verses contain adjectival clauses qualifying तस्य (1. 9 p. 5), which

again containing long descriptive compounds in the genitive case qualifies समुद्रगुप्तस्य (111 p. 6). The whole sentence stands thus—य एत तस्य... समुद्रगुप्तरय कर्तिम् आचक्षाम्; भुवोगद्वः इति अय उन्निष्टः स्तम्, [वर्तते] This lofty column appears as it were an upraised arm of the earth proclaiming the fame of Samudragupta, who etc. Here we have a beautiful Utprehsha or poetical fancy. The word उन्निष्टः can be taken both with स्तम् and वादु. But it cannot be taken in the sense of 'erected (anew)' as the pillar was first set up by Asoka. With the expression in this inscription compare the expression अर्यं स्तमः...य. पृथिव्या भुज इव ...उन्निष्टते नायेतः in vv 7 and 8 in No 6 below बुल्लैः by Kinsmen

V. 3 This stanza enumerates Samudragupta's literary attainments. प्रज्ञानं प्राज्ञाना बुधान मित्यर्थः अनुसन्धान सहवासे उचितं योग्यं सुखमनः यस्य सुख is a proleptic adjective. What the compound means is that he derived happiness from association with the wise. सद्गुरुवर्धनं विरोधान् cf परस्परविरोधस्य तस्य राज्ये कथैव का संगत श्रीसरस्वत्योरपि येन प्रगतितम् ॥ in the Baghara stone inscription of Chandella Madanavarman (Ep Ind I 209) The idea is that Samudragupta put an end to the usual war between good poetry and prosperity. He was both a king and a poet. He also made poets rich by patronising them. Prof Gajendragadkar suggests a different meaning of this phrase thus—सद्गुरुविश्रियं विरोधान् विरोधवारकन् विषयान् ये: उत्कृष्टं काव्यं निर्मातु न शक्यते तान् इत्यर्थः; बुधगुणितगुणाः एव आज्ञा. तामेः हतान्. The idea is that he cultivated those qualities which the wise have enumerated as useful for overcoming the defects that stand in the way of the production of beautiful poetry. विद्वांसे.....भुवक्षि—This clearly denotes that Samudragupta was a poet of a high order. The Gupta emperors were very enlightened rulers. They were not only patrons of learning but some of them were great poets. This inscription shows that Samudragupta was himself a great poet and his high

officer हरिषेण (cf समीप...मते in the letter portion) was undoubtedly a great poet. An inscription of Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II found at Udayagiri (F. G. I. No. 6) also shows that his chief minister द्वारमेन was a poet of a high order

V. 4, अर्यो.....पाद्यासुवीर्मिति—This verse seems to indicate that Chandragupta I selected Samudragupta from among several brothers, to conquer the land and to succeed him to the throne. From the epithet तत्त्वरियुहौत applied to Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II in his inscriptions it seems that the custom of selection was prevalent in those times (F. G. I. P. 12 n. 1).

V. 7, अच्युत नारासने They were two of the many rulers of Aryavarta, who are mentioned in the further portion of the record. कोटकुलज (a king) born in a Kota family of which nothing is so far known. पुष्पाह्ये-in (a city) called Pushpa (pura) i. e. in Pataliputra (modern Patna) which was originally called Kusumapura. It was apparently the Gupta capital. श्रीहता This means that while Samudragupta was but young.

V. 8, The stanza enumerates the various qualities of Samudragupta and concludes by saying that he was possessed of every kind of virtue. P. 61. 9-विविध...दक्षस्य—With this expression compare the legend on some of Samudragupta's gold coins—

समरशत्वित् तविजया विदु.....दिवो जयति. See F. G. I. p. 12 n. 2

पराक्रमाहरय—Of (one) designated Parakrama. Parakrama was a title of Samudragupta just as Vikrama was of his son Chandragupta. The title Parakrama is met with on his coins of the Standard Type (cf Allans Cat of Gupta coins p. 1. ff.). He was also designated Vyaghra-parakrama (ibid p. 17) and Asvamedha-parakrama (ibid p. 21) just as his son was Simha-vikrama and Ajita-vikrama. परशु.....दैत्यितिक etc. These are various kinds of weapons used in war in ancient India: परशु, धर, धूँ, धृक्ष, धृष्ट, असि, तोसर, मिर्दपाल, नाराच, and विरतितिक. The last was probably some weapon equal in length.

th to a span वितास्ति. शोभासमुदाय is a Sanskritism for समुदिता शोभा. L. 12 कौसलक महेन्द्र etc are to be read in pairs, the first part being a name of the territory and the second a name of the king—as Mahendra of Kosala etc. The territorial name is an adjectival derivative, from कौसल कैसलक etc. कौसलक महेन्द्र—

Mahendra of Kosala This Kosala must be south Kosala which embraced the eastern and southern parts of the C. P. and one of whose early capitals was Sirpura, modern Sirpur in C. P. (Ep. Ind XI 184). Nothing is known about Mahendra.

पूरणपलुक दमन—Damana of Erandapalla. Fleet identifies Erandapalla with Erandol in the E. Khandesha District of the Bombay Presidency (I. R. A. S. 1898 p.p. 369-70) Messrs K. N. Dikshit and Y.R. Gupte are of the same opinion. According to Dubreuil and Mr. K. G. Sunkar it is the same as the town Eiandapali near Chicacole on the coast of Orissa (Ep. Ind. XII p. 212). G. Rāmadās says Fleet's identification is wrong as Erandapalli mentioned immediately after the kingdom of Svāmidatta cannot be so far away on the western coast. It must be somewhere in the vicinity of Kalinga and Pishitapura Kingdom. Similary Dubreuil's identification is also wrong as Chicacole lies in Kalinga which is the country of Svāmidatta (I. H. C. I p. 682). Erandipalli will have therefore, to be identified with the village Vendipalli in the Golgudā Taluk of the Vizagipatam district or with the village Endipalli in the Ellicie Taluk. But if we suppose that Svāmidatta was king of Kottura, not entire Kalinga Erandapalli may well be identified with Chicacole. (K. G. Sunkar, **काश्चेयक विष्णुगोप**—Vishnugopa of Kānchi. Kānchi is undoubtedly the modern Conjeeveram in the Chingleput District, Madras Presidency. The kingdom of Kānchi extended from the mouth of the Krishnā to the south of the river Pālār and sometimes even Kāveri. To the west of this lie the Eastern Ghats, in which must have been the kingdom of Vengi, Pālakka and Avamukta. King Vishnugopa is no doubt identical with an early Pallava King of that name (Bom. Gaz. I, p 319)

व्याघ्रराजा — Vyaghra-raj of Mahakanṭara or great forest which has to be his capital is also referred to later on in the inscription. But it is difficult to identify this Mahakanṭara. According to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Ind Ant* 19 6 p. 229) it must have included the Sanur division of C. P. extending northwards to the Ajnigha state in Bundelkhand and Vyaghra which is identical with Vyaghra-leśa a territory of the Vākataka sovereign Prithvisena I mentioned in the Gajju inscription (*Er Ind* XVIII p. 12). But G. Ramaswami differs from this view on the ground that Mahakanṭara must be sought in the southern 'nīra' as it was one of the kingdoms of the Deccan conquered by Simhadevī. He suggests therefore, that it must be the same as Mahavira a forest region extending northwards into Gajju Agency and westwards into the tract now known as the Chhattisgarh States of C. P. and that Vyaghra-rajā cannot be identified with Vyaghra-deva of the Gajju inscription. (*Journ Andhra His Soc* Vol. I p. 233 खाराक मंड़ी—Māntirāja of Kurāli. According to Fleet *PG* I p. 7 n. 1 Kurāli is a mistake for Kurālihārā denoting the well known province Keralā. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*I H Q* I 25') identifies this Keralā with the Sanur territory in C. P. round about 'Nīra' where the author of the *Pravachit* locates the Keralās. Dr. Bennett identifies Kurāli with Koṇāla (*Bulletin Stat Or Stud* II m, p. 569). Kurāli is taken by Kielhorn (*It Ind* VI 3 n3 to be the same as Kinalā mentioned in the Athāvā inscription (No. 12 below) and it is with the Kollerū like between the Godāvare and the Krishna. But Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar objects to this on the ground that the Kollerū like must have been included in the kingdom of Venē mentioned below in the inscription. According to G. Ramaswami (*I H Q* vol. I p. 68) Kurāli must be the plain country of the Gajju and strict to the north-east of the Nīrendhā hill now chiefly occupied by the Oriyas व्याघ्रराजा व्याघ्रराजा + व्याघ्रराजा—There is a difference of opinion among scholars for the division of the words in

his phrase, Fleet (F. G. I, p. 7 n. 2) separates them as पैष्टपुरक
 रेष्टु and गिरिकृष्टकस्त्रानिदेति i. e. Mahendra of Pishtapura and
 Svāmidatta of Kottura on the hill. But Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar
 says, "The vrddhi in kauffuraka clearly shows that the word
giri is to be connected with Mahendra. If *giri* had formed
 part of the name of the country of which Svāmidatta was a
 ruler we should have had Gairikauttūraka instead of Girikau-
 ttūraka (I. H. Q. I p. 252)." So according to him Mahendragiri
 was the king of Pishtapura and Svāmidatta was of Kottura.
 V. A. Smith also is of the same opinion. But G. Ramdas
 (I. H. Q. I p. 680) takes the whole phrase together and trans-
 lates it as Svāmidatta, who had his seat at Pishtapura and at
 Kottura near Mahendragiri. This means that he was the king
 of both the places as it is often found in inscriptions that
 the king of Pishtapura was also the king of Kalinga in which
 Kottura is situated. He objects to Bhandarkar's opinion on
 the ground that the name Mahendragiri of a king is unsuppor-
 ted by history or inscriptions. But Mr. Ramdas has not met
 Bhandarkar's grammatical arguments. Secondly no other
 king in this inscription is associated with all his strongholds.
 It is better therefore to divide the phrase as Dr. Bhandarkar
 has done. Pishtapura is the same as the fortress Pishtapura
 captured by the Chalukya king Pulakesin II (see No. 12 below)
 and is the modern Pithapuram in the Godavari district of
 the Madras Presidency. Mahendragiri, the Mahendra hill,
 according to Mr. G. Ramdas (*op. cit.*) has always been asso-
 ciated with Kalingas and, is the abode of Gokarnasvāmi,
 the family god of the Ganga kings. As there are a number
 of villages named Kottura in the district of Ganjam the
 Kottura in our inscription is distinguished as being one near
 the Mahendra hill. Dubreuil (*op. cit.*) takes our Kottura
 as identical with kothoor in Ganjam.

कैरथपुरकचन्द्रजय—Dhananjaya of Kusthalapura. Kus-
 thalapura is taken by Smith as a mistake for Kusasthalapura
 (name of the holy city Dwarka; Kusasthala was the capital)

of Anartta : e. N. Gujarat. Dr. Bhandarkar however following Dr. Barnett identifies the place with Kuttilar near Polur in N. Arcot (I. H. Q. I p. 254) G. Ramdas locates the place in Gujrat following Smith. **रुद्रदेव...यत्कर्मी**—These kings of Aryāvarta destroyed by Śamudragupta are nine in number and it has been suggested by Rapson (I. R. A. S. 1897 p. 421) that possibly they may all have been Nāgas and denote the 'Nava Nāgas' of the Vishnu P. not as a dynasty of nine members as they are generally taken to be, but rather a confederation of nine princes belonging to the Nāga race. But as we shall see further the kings were of different dynasties. **रुद्रदेव**—Mr. K. N. Dikshit identifies him with Rudrasena of the Vīkātāka dynasty. This seems to be very probable.

मतिल—He may be identical with the Mattili of the seal found in Bulandshahr. But Allan (Cat. of Gupta Coins p. XXIII) thinks that the absence of any honorific on the seal suggests that it is a private seal and not one of a royal personage

नागदत्त...Nothing is known of this king. **चन्द्रवर्मन**—M. M. Haraprasad Sastri, Smith, R. D. Banerji and others identify him with king Chandragupta of Pushkarānā (modern Pokharnā in Mārwar) who is mentioned in the Susunia inscription (Ep. Ind XII p. 318) He is also identical with the sovereign king Chandra mentioned in the Meharauli inscription (Ind Ant. 1913 p. 217) Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Dr Bhandarkar and K. G. Sankar think that he was the king of Pokharnā which is modern Bānkurā, but he cannot be Chandra of the Meharauli inscription (I. H. Q. I p 255). **गणपातिनाग**—He is no doubt the same as Ganapati of Nāga family whose coins have been found at Narwar and Besnagar. He was probably ruling at Vidiśa. His predecessor was Śivārindī. (Archl Sur Ind. 1915 p. 16. **नागसेन**—He is no doubt a king of another Nāga family

ruling at Padmavati (modern Pawāvā in the Gwalior territory). In *Hirsha Chari'a* his fall is said to have been caused by a Sarika-bird (*I. H. Q.* I p. 255 & *R. A.* S 1899 p. 428). अर्द्धा—He was probably a king of a third Nāga family ruling at Mathura. The copper and bronze coins bearing the syllable *achvā* and found in the Bijnor district of U. P. were probably issued by him. नर्सिंह—Nothing is known of this king.

बलवर्मन्—According to Mr. Dikshit he is most probably identical with Balavarmān an ancestor of Bhāskaravarman of Assam. (*E. p. Ind* XII p. 73) Since Assam or Kānumupi is separated by this epigraph Balavarmān may have been first ruling in the eastern part of Āryāvarta just to the west of Assam. His descendants after the defeat at the hands of Samudragupta seem to have shifted towards Assam.

आर्यावर्त—lit. the abode of the Aryas is the common term used to denote Northern India specially. In the Manusmṛiti (II 22) it is defined as the land between the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains, extending to the eastern and to the western sea. The poet Rāj Śekhara speaks in the Balañārāvana (Act VI) of the river Narmidā as the dividing line of Āvānta and the Dakṣiṇāpātha. आटकामा—According to D. R. Bhandarkar (*I. H. Q.* I p. 256) it is the country which must have extended from Bāg helkland right up almost to the sea coast of Orissa. In the copperplate of Parīvājika Haṭi (*F. G. I.* p. 114) the Dakkhala kingdom is said to have been included in the Eighteen Forest Kingdoms (Atavikāñja).

समता—Varāhamihira places Samatata in the eastern division, and Hiuen Tsiang, to the east of the Tāmralipī country and bordering on the sea. It is taken as comprising the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputri of which the lessore and Khulna Districts form the central portion. Its capital Kurmmānta has been identified with Kamā in the Comilla District by Mr. N. K. Bhattachari (*I. A. S. D.* 1914 p 85) (*I. H. Q.*

1 p 256) डाक—According to Fleet it may correspond to Daka. According to V. Smith it corresponds to the modern districts of Bogra, Dinhapur and Rajshahi. But as these districts were not actually incorporated with the Gupta dominions Prof. Dr. Bhundibai (I. H. Q. 1 p 257) suggests that Daka corresponds to the Hill Tracts of Chittagong and Tippera. असुन्न—It corresponds in the main to modern Assam the central portion of which is still known as Kanrup.

मेषाक—It is well known. कर्त्तारपुर—Dr. Fleet suggests that the name may survive in Kartharpur in the Jaldhaka District. But it may correspond to the Kumāon, Garhwal and Rohilkhand (I. H. Q. 1 p. 257) L. 20 मालवा—They were originally the same as the Malavas of the Greek writers and the Malavas the Milesian people who according to the *Mudrākshasa* fought against the Maurya Chundragupta. They appear to have migrated southwards and were in occupation of a province called Vigarelāl in the south-eastern portion of the Jupur state in Rajputana where their coins of a period approximately from BC 150 to 250 A.D. were found in numbers. (Bhandubai's *Charnachet* 1921 p. 12) In the Gupta period they seem to have migrated still farther southwards as is indicated from some inscriptions of the period. They had occupied the south-eastern part of Rajputana and the parts of Central India adjoining them (Ind. Ant. 1891 p. 464), I. H. Q. 1 p. 257)

अजुन यन—They had probably occupied the eastern part of the Jupur and the Alwar State. Their coins are also found बिध्या—See above in No. 1. From the find-spots of their coins seals and inscriptions they seem to be ruling in the country between Sutlej and the Jumna as far southwards as Bharatpur state (I. H. Q. 1 p 258) According to Prof. Dhimend they had established themselves in the Muthia region probably after the death of the Kushāna emperor Vaishadeva and were neighbours of the Nagas (Anc. Hist. of Deccan

प. 32.) मादक—Their country corresponds roughly to modern Sialkot and surrounding region between the Rāvi and Chenab rivers. Its capital was Saketa (modern Sialkot) (*I. H. Q. I.* p. 258, and *J. A. S. B.* 1922 p. 257). आभिर—According to Smith they can be located in the province of Ahirwādā between the Pārvati and the Betwā rivers in Central India. But as Abhiras are often mentioned in the Kshatrapa inscriptions of Surāshtra they may be located in Kathiwad and Gujarat.

प्राञ्जन—Smith locates them in the Narsinghpur Dist. of C.P. But Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar locates them near Narsingarh in C. P. सनकानीक—A Chief of the Sanakanika tribe or family is mentioned as a feudatory of Chandragupta II in a cave inscription from Udayagiri near Bhelsā. Though this is not sufficient to locate the family in that part it seems probable that the Sanakanikas were somewhere near that part.

काक—Nothing is so far known of this. सरपारिक—According to Dr. Bhandarkar (*I. H. Q. I* 258) they were probably identical with Kharpara mentioned in the Batihāgarh inscription (*E. P. Ind.* XII 46) of the Damoha District. In C. P. शान्तवशसः—Dr. Buhler suggests the reading शान्त (tired) for शान्त. L. 23 देवपुत्रशाहिशाहानुशासि—Fleet, Smith and Allin split up this word into three different titles देवपुत्र, शाहि, and शाहानुशासि denoting different princes. But according to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (*I. H. Q. I* p. 259) since the word in the inscription is देवपुत्र and not देवपुत्र it shows that the word cannot stand by itself but must be taken along with what follows. The whole expression corresponds with the full royal insignia देवपुत्र महापत्र राजातिराज of the Later Great Kushānas or Kushānaputras as they called themselves. They exercised sway not only over the Kābul valley but also over the Punjab and the Mathura regions.

वाक—Some scholars take this racial name to refer to the

Kshatrapas of Kathiawad and Malwa. But according to Prof Bhandarkar (*I. H. Q* I p 260) the Śīki king referred to in this inscription was probably the Śīki king Śridhavarman or his successor mentioned in the Sānchi inscription of S. 241, published in *E. I. XVI* 232.

मुरुन्दा — According to Sten Konow the Murundas were in reality the Kushānas and the word Murunda itself is not the name of a tribe but a Saka word meaning 'lord' which was used as a title by the Śakis and after them by the Kushānas. (*Ep. Ind.* XIV p. 292).

संहठक — i. e. Ceylon An account of the embassy of the Ceylon king Sri Meghavarman has been preserved by the Chinese authorities which say that he sent gifts to Samudragupta with a request to be allowed to build a monastery at Bodha Gaya (Smith *Ind. Ant.* 1902 p. 192)

L 24 संद्रोप...गरुदस्त्व — आत्मनिवेदन, कन्योपायन and दान are to be taken as distinct गरुदमद्भु I take with reference to शासन as Allan does : i. e. गरुदमद्भु.....'चन means 'soliciting of charters bearing the Garudi seal confirming them in the enjoyment of their territories. Fleet takes the expression गरुदमद्भु to mean coins bearing the tokens of Garudi i. e. Gupta coins. But as Garuda was not a necessary symbol on Gupta coins it is better to take this as Allan (p LXV) has done, in the sense of the royal seal of the Guptas. In Samudragupta's seal which is a true one, attached to the spurious Gaya plate Garuda is represented, (See *F G* I p 25) पृष्ठिम्या.....मुचरितशत — With this compare the legend अप्रतिरिप्तो वक्षित्य शिति मुचरितैर्द्व जयति on Samudragupta's coins (Allan p 6) The synonymous expression अप्रतिगर्वयं is found in Samudragupta's Eran inscription (*F G* I No 2) चरणतकप्रसृष्ट—About this poetically beautiful expression see App P. 6, L. 1, साच्चसाध् etc. साधुन चदयं असाधुन् प्र-य रेस-

pectively. Or साधूनां उद्यः असाधूनां प्रलयः (Dravid).. .

पुरुष्याचिन्त्यस्य — This suggests that Samudragupta was like Purushottama or Parama Purusha (Fleet).

अनेकगोषात — Compare Ushavadātas inscription A. S. W. I IV. 19 and Ep. Ind VIII 19.

धनद — etc. These four are the divine guardians of the four cardinal points. It may be noted that this epithet is one of the three always and only applied to Samudragupta.

L.5 निशित...मति etc. On Samudragupta's coins of the Lute-player type he is represented as seated on a high-backed couch playing a lute or tyre. This affords a striking corroboration of his musical skill. (See Allan p. 18).

विद्वज्जनो etc — Who had established his title of 'king of poets' by various poetic compositions sufficient for the learned men to make their living i. e., by which their authors can be valued as great poets to deserve patronage from kings. I think we can also interpret the word कविराज both as a king i. e. patron of poets because he gave subsistence to the learned men (विद्वज्जनोपर्जन्यमानक्रिया) and as the prince of poet i. e. a great poet because he prepared a number of poetical compositions. (अनेककाव्यक्रिया)

छोकधाम्नो देवस्य — Fleet renders 'a god dwelling on the earth'. But it is better to take this, as Prof. Dravid has done, as two expressions, the former meaning 'who was a place of refuge for all people' and the latter in the usual sense of 'a king.'

महाराजश्रीगुप्त Gupta, the first king of the Gupta line and his son Ghatotkacha bear the epithet *Maharāja* only, which denoted the position of a feudatory in those days; while Chandragupta & Samudragupta bear the epithet *Maharāja-dhīraja* denoting their Imperial power,

दित्तिवि—This dynasty which once ruled in Nepāl was of such respectable ancestry that the Gupta emperor Śimudragupta in spite of his territorial greatness considered it an honour to be connected on his mother's side with that dynasty. **महादेव्यां**—Mahādevi is a title which in those days was applied to the queen of a paramount sovereign and corresponds to the title Mahārājādhīrājī applied to the latter.

विचरणः—Dr. Buhler takes the word विचरण in the sense of a path. **यस्य**—This qualifies the word यस्य: within the verse.

V. 9 प्रदान.....प्यः—In this verse Samudragupta's fame which is supposed to be of white colour and which was spread in the three worlds in compared with the Ganges, whose waters are white and which is called निष्पथ्यगः i.e. moving in three places Akāśa, Prithvi and Pātālī.

उपर्युपरि—See Dr. Buhler's note on this in the App.

काव्य—The inscription is certainly a Kavya.

समीपपरिसर्पण etc—This again suggests the poetical abilities of the emperor.

खाटपाकिक—The meaning of this term is not clear. It may be a tribal name or a family name or an official title. I think it is a family name.

महादण्डनायक—The chief police officer or the chief judicial officer according as we take the meaning of the word दण्ड.

Translation.

P. 6. L. 13 This column has been raised which is (or this lofty column is) as it were an arm of the earth raised up, which announces the fame greatly augmented through his conquest of the whole earth and which having pervaded the entire surface of the earth found a lovely and happy moyement by going to the abode of the lord of gods

P. 6. L 11. Of the illustrious *Samudraupta* the lord of great kings.

V. 2. Who.....by his own kinsmenwhose

V. 2 Who twanging (of the bow-string)
..... burst open and scattered disbevelled

V. 3 Whose happy mind is fit for associating with the wise: who was the master of the real sense of the scriptures; firmly fixed....., who having overwhelmed, with the (force of the) commands of the collective merits of (his) learned men, those things which obstruct the beauty of excellent poetry enjoys in the world of the wise, the sovereignty of the same (produced) by much poetryof clear meaning :— .

V. 4 Who, being looked at with sad faces (through the rejection of themselves) by kinsmen of equal birth, while the courtiers breathed freely with joy, was bidden by (his) father, who, exclaiming " Verily (he is) worthy," embraced (him) with the hair of (his) body standing erect (through pleasure) (and) thus indicative of (his) sentiments and looked at him with eyes perturbed by affection overcome with tears (of joy) (yet) perceiving the right thing said to him ' Protect then this earth.'

V. 5. Whose.....some people (were accustomed to) taste with affection,.....with their joy mixed with wonder when they beheld (his) many actions that resembled nothing of a mortal nature; (and) whose protection other people affi- cted by (his) prowess, sought, performing obeisance,
.....;

V. 6 [Whose] doers of great wrong,
always conquered by his arm in battle, to morrow
and to morrow pride re-
pentance, with minds elated with joy (and) blooming with

much clearly displayed pleasure and affection
the spring (!),—

V 7 By whom — having, unassisted, with the force
of the prowess of (his) arm that rose up so as to press all
bounds, uprooted Achyuta and Nagasena,— (by
whom) causing him who was born in the family of the
Ketas to be captured by (his) armies (and) sporting in (the city)
that had the name of Pushpa while the sun.....
the banks,; —

V. 8 (of whom it is said),— ' The building of the
(protecting) wall of religion same as white as the rays of
the moon, (and) spreading far and wide, learning that
pierces the essential nature of things calmness
....., the path prescribed by the virtuous that is
worthy to be followed, and even poetry, which gives free
vent to the power of the intellect of poets (all these are his),
(in short) what (virtue) is there that does not belong to him,
who alone is an object of contemplation for those who can
recognise merit and intellect ? ' —

P 5 L. 9 Who is skilful in engaging in a hundred battles
of various kinds,—whose only ally is his valour depending
upon the strength of his own arm; whose special characteristic
is valour (or who has an emblem of *parakrama*);—whose body
looked more charming, because of the accumulation of the
grace of a hundred scars left by the severe wounds received
from various weapons like the battle-axes, arrows, spears,
spikes, barbed darts, swords, iron clubs, javelins for throwing
iron arrows, varashikas (scimitars) and many other (weapons) —

L. 16. Whose great good fortune is mixed with, so
as to be increased by (his) glory produced by his acts of cap-
turing, replacing and favouring all the kings of the south
including Mahendra of Kosala, Vyaghraraja of Mahakanara,
Mantraraja of Kerala, Mahendra of Pishlaipura, Subhadrala

of *Kettura* on the hill, *Damana* of *Erandaþalla*, *Vishnugopa* of *Kanchi*, *Nilartja* of *Avamukta*, *Hastivarman* of *Vengi*, *Ugrasena* of *Pälakka*, *Kubera* of *Devarashira*. *Dhananjaya* of *Kausthalapura*, and all the other kings of the region of the south :—

L. 18. Who has become great by his power being increased by violence supplanting a number of rulers like *Rudradeva*, *Matil*, *Nägadatta*, *Chandravarman*, *Ganapatinäga*, *Nägasena*, *Achyuta*, *Nandin*, *Balvarman*, and many other kings of (the land of) *Aryavarta*;— who had reduced to vassalage all the chiefs of the forest kingdoms.

L. 21 Whose imperious commands are fully gratified, by paying all (kinds of) taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to do homage, by the frontier kings of *Samatata*, *Davaka*, *Kämarupa*, *Nepala*, *Kartripura*, and other (countries), and by the (tribes) *Mälavas*, *Arjunayanas*, *Yaudheyas*, *Mädrakas*, *Abhiras*, *Prärjunas*, *Sanakanika*, *Käkas*, *Kharaparikas*, and other (tribes) :—

L. 23 Whose fame arising from his re-instating many ruling families previously dethroned and extirpated has come to rest (only) after wandering over the whole earth; whose binding together of the (whole) earth by means of the great strength of (his) arms is effected by service (rendered) by such means as self-surrender, offering of maidens, presents, soliciting of charters bearing the *Garuda* seal, confirming them in the enjoyment of their territories etc. by *Daivaputras*, *Sahis*, *Sahänusähls*, *Sakas* and *Murundas* and by the people of *Simhila* and all (other) dwellers in islands: L. 26 Who has no rival in war in the world; who has wiped off with the sole of his foot the fame of other kings in consequence of the overflow of his many virtues which shone by hundreds of good actions; who is an incomprehensible person (parama purusha) and is the cause of the elevation of the good and of the desir-

ruction of the evil; who being full of compassion has a tender heart that can be won over simply by devotion and submission, who is the giver of many hundreds and thousands of cows:—

P. 6, 13 Whose mind is occupied with the initiation of the charm of relieving the low, the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted;—who is a flaming embodiment of the spirit of public good;—who is a compeer of Dhanida (i. e. Kubera) Varuna, Indra and Antaka (i. e. Yama);—whose officers are always engaged in restoring royal splendour to the numerous king overthrown by him by the strength of his arms:—

L. 6 Who puts to shame the preceptor of the lord of the gods (i. e. Brihaspati) by his sharp and polished intellect and Tumburu and Narada by lovely performances of music:—

L. 7 Who established (his) title of 'King of poets,' by various poetical compositions that are fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people;—whose many wonderful and noble deeds are worthy to be praised for a very long time:—

L. 8 Who is a mortal only in so far as he performs the actions required by the conventions of the world (but is otherwise) a god, dwelling on the earth—who is the son of the son's son of the Mahārāja the illustrious Gupta;—who is the son's son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghatotkacha;—who is the son of the Mahārājādhīrāja the glorious Chandragupta (I), (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhavi, begotten on the Mahādevi Kumāradevi;—

V. 9 Whose glory, which rises up in layers one above the other through the manifestation of his generosity, prowess of the arms and self-control and his proficiency in the precepts of the scriptures and which spreads in more than one way, purifies the three worlds like the white waters of the Ganges, which flows in higher and higher floods, follows more than one path and dashes forth rapidly by reason of being liberated from confinement in the cave in the form of the interior of the matted hair of (the god) Paśupati

L. 18 Now may this poetical composition—(the work of **Harishena**, who is the son of **Mahādandanāyaka Dhruvabhatti** of the **Khādyatapākika** family, who is (himself) a slave of the feet of this same king, whose intelligence is blooming forth by the favour of dwelling near His Majesty and who is himself a **Sāndhivigrāhi**, **Kumārāmātya** and **Mahādandanāyaka**, conduce to the welfare and happiness of all beings.

And it is executed by **Mahādandanāyaka Tilabhattaka**, who meditates on the feet of the emperor.

No. 4.

Girnar Rock Inscription of Skandagupta.

General Remarks—This inscription is engraved on the North-west face of the large granite boulder which also contains the fourteen edicts of Asoka and the long inscription of **Mahākshatrapa Kudradāman** published above in No. 1. It is half the way from the modern town of Junagadh to the famous **Girnar** hill in the east. The writing which covers a space of about 10'6" broad by 7'8" high contains 26 lines. The inscription is divided into two parts. The second part which begins with L. 24 is too much damaged and hence is not copied in this edition. It was first published by James Prinsep in 1838 in the *J. A. S. B.* Vol. VII p. 347. Its latest edition is published by Dr. Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions* pp. 58 ff.

The inscription is non-sectarian its object being to record the restoration of the embankment of the **Sudarśana** lake in the year 137 of the Gupta era by **Chakrapālita**, who was appointed to rule over the place by his father **Parnadatta**, the viceroy over **Surashtra** of the Gupta emperor **Skandagupta**.

The *contents* of the inscription can be divided into the following sections

- I The *mangala* addressed to the god Vishnu v. 1.
- II Glory of **Skandagupta** sung vv 2-6
- III Appointment of governors by him in all provinces v 7
- IV His anxiety to select a competent viceroy to rule over **Surashtra** vv 8-11
- V His appointment of **Parnadatta** over **Surashtra** vv 12-13
- VI Appointment by **Parnadatta** of his son **Chakrapālita** over the capital town of **Surashtra** and the description of the high qualities of **Parnadatta** vv 14-25.
- VII A poetic description of the bursting of the lake **Sudarśana** in the year 136 of the **Gupta** era vv. 26-31,
- VIII The restoration of the lake in the year 137 vv. 32 37
- IX Wish for the long life of the lake v 38
- X Wish for the flourishing condition of the citizens v 39.

Historical importance of the inscription—This inscription gives us the historical information that after defeating completely his enemies the **Mlechchhas** and others, who had threatened to bring the dynasty to an end as is stated in another inscription at **Bilārī** of **Skandagupta** (F G I No 13) the **Gupta** emperor occupied himself in organising his empire by appointing trusted and competent viceroys over all the provinces. He was specially anxious to select a fully competent man to govern the **Surashtras** who could guard his vast empire from further troubles from the west. In **Parnadatta** he found the right man and therefore by appointing him to govern the western part of his empire

He became as free from anxiety as the gods had been by appointing Varuna to govern the West. The enemies who had caused so much anxiety to Skandagupta were no doubt the Hunas who had invaded India and threatened the Gupta empire in the latter part of Kumāragupta's reign. But they were repulsed by the bravery of Skandagupta and for some time the empire was saved. But in about 510 A. D. they again invaded India and took possession of a part of Central India at least.

The inscription gives us an idea of the system of provincial government during the Gupta rule. The provincial governors were appointed directly by the Imperial Government from Pātaliputra and were given power to appoint district local officers under them according to their choice. We see that Parnadatta was appointed viceroy by the emperor himself but the governor of Girinagara was appointed by the viceroy.

A third point that deserves mention is that the benefits of irrigation to be derived by damming the Sudarśana lake were apparent from very old times and the Central Government at Pātaliputra (modern Patnā) took steps in maintaining it even in the remotest province of the empire. We know from Rudradāman's inscription at Girnar (No. 1 above) that in the third cent. B. C. the great Maurya emperor Chandragupta first built the Sudarśana lake through the viceroy of Surāstra Pushyagupta and that his grandson Aśoka made necessary improvements in it through his viceroy Rajā Tushāspha. In 150 A. D. however a violent storm like the one described in the present inscription destroyed the embankment which was rebuilt three times larger and stronger by Pahlava Suvīśakha, the Surāshtra governor of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman. But as we see from the present inscription the dam again burst in G. S. 130 but was rebuilt by Chakrapālita evidently under orders of Skanda-

gupta in G S 137 testifying to the cue the Gupta emperor continued to take for irrigation works even in the remote dominions. We do not know when after this the embankment burst for the lake now no longer exists and no trace of it even now remains.

The date of the inscription—We know that the era in this and in other inscriptions of the Gupta rulers is the well-known Gupta era which begins with 319 A. D. It is only the present inscription which makes the earliest specific mention of the name Gupta (गुप्तप्रकाश in v. 27) with whom the era was connected. **Poetical importance of the inscription**—As regards the poetical value of the inscription it must be said that the poet is not of a very high order and though possessing poetical abilities he is very poor in expressing ideas. A number of uncouth phrases are scattered throughout the inscription and the meaning in many places has to be made out with much difficulty. Of the *sabdalankaras* used by the poet Anuprasa is common. *Varnanuprasa* is practically found used in every verse. Of *Padanuprasa* v. 14 is the best instance where the word अप्तेन् is used in different senses the *Aithalankaras*. **Meters used in the inscription**—मालिनी in vv 1, 2, 3 and 38 अर्धी in v. 4 उपराजी in vv 5, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 and 37 उद्धवज्ञा vv 6, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 27 वैतालाय शापच्छव्यसिक । 16 and वशस्थ vv 26, 28, 29, 30, and 31.

Notes—V. 1 The exploit of Vishnu described in the first two lines suggests that of the hero of the poem viz Skandagupta. This is in accordance with the best classical usage. The whole verse is applied by suggestion to Skandagupta who means Victorious is he who snatched away the wealth from the powerful (Huns) who had wrested it (from his dynasty) for a considerable time for the benefit of the subjects अदिमहमोऽप्तेन्—This is rather an obscure com-

pound. The reading भोग्यां is quite clear in the inscription. It may mean भोग्यत्वेन अभिमतः welcomed or solicited (by all) for enjoyment or अभिमतेनभोग्यां fit to be enjoyed by the chosen (cf श्रिया दुरापः कथमीपितो भवेत) The idea is that the goddess of wealth is to be enjoyed by the person of her choice.

नैकाळ—i. e. a long time, The poet uses the expression again in v. 12 below. विजितार्तिः—in the sense of अर्तिहाः is not a happy expression. Possibly the poet wanted to suggest विजितारि or विजिताराति in the case of Skandagupta. वृद्धः द्वजिष्णुः—absolutely all-conquering. **Vv. 2-3** तद्दु—nent to god Vishnu stands Skandagupta in that attribute. प्रतिकृति—substitute, governor निर्विषेषा—as an antidote, The idea is expressed in an awkward way. अवकर्ता—from कृत् with अव् to pluck off. निकेत—abode यः...चक्रार—The first line of the third verse is to be taken with the second verse. The remaining three lines contain the adjectival phrase. The whole stands thus—तद्दु रुद्धयुसः जयति य...चकार , पितारि सुरस्वितं प्राप्नुवति—i. e. पितारि परलोकं गते सति It refers to the death of Kumāragupta, the father of Skandagupta. After Kumāragupta's death the empire was in a disorder as is seen from the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta (F. G. I. No. 13). Skandagupta had to undergo many troubles to restore peace in the empire by defeating the enemies specially the Hūnas who had invaded the country and by putting down the revolts of feudatory chiefs. **V. 4** अपि च etc. The construction is तेन जिते यस्य यशांसि रिपवः प्रथयन्ति etc. Or it may be thus—(रुद्धयुसः) यस्य यशांसि रितः अपि च जितमेव तेन इति प्रथयन्ति. निवसन्तो—is the reading proposed by prof. K. B. Pathaka. म्लेच्छ—The word is used here in connection with the Hūnas.

V. 5 अपेत्य—having rejected. The root is used by the poet in two more places—घर्मादेपतो v. 6 and अनपेतभावः v. 8.

अपेत्य...यरयांचकार—This expression according to some

scholars implies a fratricidal struggle after the death of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I, out of which Skandgupta emerged victorious and succeeded him. But it is not necessary to suppose in this way, The मनुजेद्दपुत्र may be disappointed princes like the brothers of Samudragupta who were discarded by Chandragupta I.

यं—This qualifies the word स्कन्दगुप्त in v. 3.

V. 7 गोप्तृन्-गोप्ता lit. protector In ancient times this word seems to have been used in a technical sense meaning a governor as here or a feudatory prince as in the sentence अमूर्त गोप्ता नृपविश्वदर्भ in the Mandasore inscription No 5 below.

Vv. 8 to 11 are to be taken together. The construction stands thus—सर्वेषु भूत्येषु कः अनुरूपः स्य स्...कः समर्थः स्यात् यः सुराष्ट्रान् प्रशिष्यात्. **V. 11. सुराष्ट्रान्**—The names of countries were many times used in the plural as कलिङ्गः The form सुराष्ट्रान् is used in the Girnar Inscription No. 1 above and in a number of copperplates of the rulers of Valabhi.

V. 12 यः सच्चियुक्तः—The word यः is awkwardly used here. It must be taken to qualify पर्णदत्त in the preceding sentence. The poet might have thought of using सः, which however did not suit the metre. The poet has used this word in a number of places in the inscription where it is unsuitable. **V 13 नियुज्य देवाः** etc. This verse is certainly a fine example of उपमा. Surashtra was the western-most part of the Gupta Empire. **V. 14 सत्यात्मजो**—This word qualifies चकपालित in the 16th verse. In fact the verses from the 14th to the 18th are to be taken together. The sentence stands thus—तस्यात्मजः चकपालितः अभवत् यः पितरं विशेषयाचकार यस्मिन् क्षमा...युणा वसन्ति । तस्यात्मजो...रूपः. There is a great deal of quibble on the word आत्मन् which is eight times used in this verse in different senses. तस्य आत्मजः आत्मजभावयुक्तः आत्मा आत्मवशेन द्विघा इव नृतः सर्वात्मना आत्मा एव रक्षणीयः, आत्मवान्, आत्मजकान्तरूपः (एवं रूपः) अभवत् (1) आत्मजः—son (2) आत्मजभाव—familial affection (3) His self

i. e. the father's self was as it were divided into two—one part was the father himself and the other was the son. आत्मवशेन means by being overwhelmed with the dictates of his soul. सर्वेनना by his whole soul or attention i. e. by extreme care, as if he was his own self (आत्मा एव). आत्मवान् He was self-possessed. आत्मजकान्तरूपः here आत्मज means cupid—whose form was as beautiful as that of the cupid.

V. 15 पद्माकरपद्म—The word पद्माकर is an unnecessary repetition, **V. 20. नगरस्य** It is a pity that the name of the city is not mentioned. It must have been, however, Girinagara, which is mentioned in the Rudradamaś inscription. प्रचकार The use of प्र before चकार is clumsy. This is one more instance of the weakness of the poet in the art of versification.

V. 22 विश्वभमल्येन etc. This is an obscure stanza. It is perhaps to be taken thus—यः अस्मिन् (पुरे) स्नागरेषु लोकेषु अल्येन वालेन विश्वम् शशाम् । In this and preceding verses the use of यः is clumsy. Probably दितेव is the missing word before पुन्ना in line 4. **V. 23 संरंजयांवभूव—**The subject of this verb is यः i. e. the third line of the preceding verse. Hence the verses 22 and 23 are to be taken together. पूर्वे रितिं This word seems to qualify आमार्याण् One way of pleasing the subjects was to converse with them with a courteous smile.

V. 24 धर्मार्थयोः The poet here suggests that Chakrapalita enjoyed pleasures suited to the times, but not transgressing his duty in respect of religion and material achievement. धर्म, अर्थ, काम are the three *purushārthas* according to the Hindu scriptures which it is the duty of a man to attain in the secular life of a householder. **V. 25 मुक्ताकलाप** etc. This is certainly a beautiful expression.

V. 26 अयक्षेण etc. This construction of the verse is defective. This is one more instance to show that though our poet possesses poetical ideas he is very defective in ex-

pressing them. Prof. Dravid of the Sanghi college construes this verse thus—अथ क्रमेण तोयदै निशाधकालं प्रविदार्थं अम्बुदकाले आगते (सति) (पर्जन्य or इन्द्रः) सन्ततं चिरं बहु तोयं दर्थं येन (i.e. तोयवर्षं-येन) (स इदं) सुदर्शनं विमेद। I construe the sentence thus—अथ क्रमेण अम्बुदकाले तोयदै, निशाधकालं प्रविदार्थं आगते (सति) बहु तोयं सन्ततं चिरं दर्थं येन च आस्त्रात् सुदर्शनं विमेद। The verbs दर्थं and विमेद are taken by the poet as intransitive.

V. 27 संदत्सराणां etc.—The like burst in the year 100+30+6 according to the calculation of the Guptas; i.e. in the year 136 of the Gupta era which has been shown to begin with 319 A.D. So the event took place in 455 A.D.

गुप्तप्रश्नाले Here again the use of प्र before काल is inappropriate. Some propose that the reading गुप्तस्य कालं would have been better. V. 28 रेवताकात् i.e. from modern Girnar hill to the west of the town Junagadh (cf. *Ind. Ant.* 1893 p. 177). It was also called रेवताचल. It derives its name from Revati the father of Revati the wife of Baladeva, Krishna's elder brother. Revati is supposed to have come there from Dwarka and lived on the hill. There is a tank called Revati Kundā near Damodar Kunda in the gorge of the hill. It may be noted that the hill was also called Ujjayanti or Urjayat. In the Girnar inscription of Rudridaman the rivers Suvarnasikā and Palasini are said to have risen from Urjayat mountain which name is also mentioned in the present inscription. Our inscription states that they took their rise from the Raihati. The river सिंहताविलासिना is the same as सुवर्णमिक्ता mentioned in Rudridaman's inscription. Fleet and others have wrongly taken उक्त विलासनी as an adjective of पलाशिनी.

V. 29 महोदधे प्रियेष्मुना! Fleet and others have taken a wrong meaning of the phrase. They translate the verse thus—Having noticed the great bewilderment caused by the excess of rain (the mountain) Urjayat, desirous of approaching

ting the wives of the mighty ocean stretched forth as it were, a hand consisting of the river (Palasini) decorated with the numerous flowers that grow on the edges of its banks. They mean that taking advantage of the general confusion Urjayat wanted to outrage ocean's wives. They take the solitary river Palasini under the figure of an outstretched arm and the other rivers under the figure of ocean's mistresses. The mountains रेतक and उर्जयत are however one and the same, as shown above. Having, therefore, described the mountain as the source of the rivers in the preceding verse, the poet could not have suggested the same as the ravisher in the next. What is meant is that taking pity on the ocean's forlorn condition at the advent of the rainy season the mountain handed over his daughter the river decked with flowers to her husband the Ocean. See also JBBRAS Vol. II (N. S.) p. 179.

V. 30 विषादमाना—Causal passive in the sense of विषादन्तः

V. 31 पुमान् हि—The lake is as it were not an inanimate object but a man. दुर्दशनतो make the play on the words सुदर्शन and दुर्दशन. V. 33 संवत्सराणी—After these two lines the first two lines in v. 35 are to be taken. All the verses from 32 to 37 are to be taken together. The sentence would stand thus—स पितुः पर्यामांकं प्रदर्शयं.....घमस्य अप्रमेयं व्यञ्जकत्वा प्रथितं तटाकं सुदर्शनं आयामतो दस्तशतं...संवत्सराणी...प्रत्येकं अनिष्ट समयग्राहितोपनेन व्यञ्जय ॥

The date of the completion of the work begun two months previously (मासद्वयेन v. 35) is given as the first day of the first (i. e. bright) half of Vaisākha of the year 137 of the (Gupta) era. V. 36 आयामतो etc. With these measurements of the lake compare those given in Rudradāman inscription. It seems that the breach of the lake was much smaller than that in the time of Rudradāman. V. 38 रथचरणसमादृ i. e. the Chakravāka bird. V. 39. Mark that the poet himself calls this long poem a *Goutha*.

Translation.

V. 1—Victorious is (the 'god) Vishnu—the perpetual abode of (the goddess) Lakshmi, dwelling in the waterlily; the conqueror of distress ; the absolutely all conquering one who, for the sake of the happiness of the lord of the gods (Indra) seized back from (the demon) Bali the goddess of wealth and splendour, who is solicited (by all) for enjoyment, (and) who had been kept away from him for a very long time.

~ Vv. 2-3—And next (i. e. after Vishnu) stands victorious for ever Skandagupta, the supreme king of kings of great glory, the abode of good qualities, whose breast is embraced by the goddess of wealth and splendour; who has developed heroism by (the strength of his) arms ; and who plucked off the authority of the Garudas in the shape of his substitutes (i. e. governors) and used it as an antidote for the serpents in the shape of rival kings that are raising their heads with pride and arrogance : who when (his) father by his own power had attained the position of a friend of the gods (i. e. had departed this life), humbled his enemies, and made subject to himself the (whole) earth, bounded by the waters of the four oceans, (and) full of thriving countries round its borders.

~ V. 4—Moreover has he surely triumphed, whose glories even the enemies proclaim , in the countries of the Mlechchhas having their pride broken down to the very root.

V. 5—Whom the goddess of fortune and splendour chose of her free will as her lord, 'after having carefully seen and thoroughly considered all the causes of excellence and defect (in a king) in succession and after passing over all other sons of kings.

V. 6—While the king is reigning verily no one among his subjects falls away from religion ; (and) there is no one

who is distressed (or) in poverty, (or) in misery, (or) avaricious, or who even worthy of punishment is overtortured.

V. 7—Thus having conquered the entire earth (and having destroyed the height of the pride of (his) enemies (and) having appointed governors (lit. protectors) in all the countries, he cogitated in many ways

Vv. 8-11—Who is there in the circle of my dependents fit for governing who is endowed with intellect : modest ; possessed of a disposition undeserted by grasping power and memory ; endowed with truth, straightforwardness, nobility and justness ; and possessed of sweetness, civility and fame ;—loyal ; affectionate ; endowed with special qualities of a gentleman ; and possessed of an intellect purified by all texts ; possessed of an inner soul prone to be free from obligations : accustomed to do good to all mankind ;—who is there capable of lawfully acquiring wealth and also of preserving what is acquired and of (inventing) means of increasing what is preserved and of dispensing on worthy objects what is increased, who shall govern the entire (province) of Suāstra?

Ah ! I have it ; (there is) just one man, Parnadatta competent to take up the task.

V. 12. When the lord of kings had thus decided (about the choice) after constant thinking for many days and nights he appointed him (Parnadatta) after some entreaties for the proper protection of the land of the Suāshtras.

V. 13 Just as the gods became free from anxiety by appointing Varuna in the west, so the king was relieved in his heart (lit. possessed of equanimity), when he had appointed Parnadatta over the region of the west.

Vv. 14-18 His son, possessed of filial devotion, his own self being as it were reduplicated through the influence of his soul, well trained by self ; control ; worthy to be protected by all means, as if it were his own self always self-possessed;

endowed with a beautiful form like that of cupid having a disposition the whole of which was always pervaded with joy through a variety of charming actions that were in accordance with (his) beauty, having a face resembling a full-blown water lily in a bed of water-lilies the refuge of men who came to him for protection, was the same one who is renowned on the earth under the name of Chakrapāṇī who is beloved of the people, and who excelled his father by his own unimpeachable noble qualities —

In whom all these virtues abide to a marked degree without ever quitting him viz patience, lordship, modesty, justness and heroism without (too) great an estimation of heroism power of speech, self-control, liberality, large-mindedness, civility, freedom from indebtedness, fulness, beauty, and correction of ignoble things absence of conceit, firmness and depth.

V. 19 In the whole world there is no one to whom a comparison with his virtues may be made verily he has become in all entirety the standard of comparison for men who are endowed with virtuous qualities

V. 20 (And it was he) who appointed by his father after personally testing (the existence in him of) these same qualities mentioned above and others even higher than these accomplished the protection of (this) city in a way surpassing his predecessors.

V. 21, Who relying upon the prowess of his own two arms and on the pride of his own and not of any other man subjected no one in this city to any anxiety but at the same time punished the wicked

V. 22, Who ruled over the people together with the inhabitants in the city by maintaining confidence in a short time and who by carefully inquiring into the faults fondled the citizens (as a father does)

V. 23. And who made his subjects happy first by conversation accompanied by smile and by presents of honours by (encouraging) unrestricted mutual visits to each other's houses among his people (and) by holding domestic functions calculated to promote cordiality.

V. 24 Endowed with the highest sentiments of piety, affable, pure, (and) charitable in a proper way he was without any hindrance to attaining Dharma and Artha (i. e. spiritual good and economic pursuits) applied himself to such pleasures (i. e. to attaining Kām) as can be obtained at the proper time.

V. 25. What wonder is there in the fact that he (born) from Parnadalta, is a just man ? Can heat ever be produced from the moon , which is cool like a string of pearls or like a waterlily ?

V. 26-27 Now when in course of time the season of clouds set in tearing up the hot season by means of clouds vast quantity of water rained down unceasingly for a long time; by reason of which (the lake) Sudarśana suddenly burst on the sixth day, at night, of the month Praushthapada in a century of years increased by thirty and also six more according to the calculation of the Gupta era.

V. 28 And then (the rivers) which take their rise from the Raivataka mountain and this (river) Palasini (and) Sikatā-vilāsini—(all these) wives of the ocean that had remained long in detention now once again joined their lord in due accordance with (the precepts of the) scriptures.

V. 29 Beholding the great confusion caused by the advent of (heavy) rains (the mountain) Urvayat wishing to do good to the ocean stretched out, as it were, his arm in the form of the river adorned with a great variety of flowers along the banks.

V. 30 The people verily filled on all sides with dismay

V. 23. And who made his subjects happy first by conversation accompanied by smile and by presents of honours by (encouraging) unrestricted mutual visits to each other's houses among his people (and) by holding domestic functions calculated to promote cordiality.

V. 24 Endowed with the highest sentiments of piety, affable, pure, (and) charitable in a proper way he was without any hindrance to attaining Dharma and Artha (i. e. spiritual good and economic pursuits) applied himself to such pleasures (i. e. to attaining Kāmī) as can be obtained at the proper time.

V. 25. What wonder is there in the fact that he (born) from Parnadatta, is a just man? Can heat ever be produced from the moon, which is cool like a string of pearls or like a waterlily?

V. 26-27 Now when in course of time the season of clouds set in tearing up the hot season by means of clouds vast quantity of water rained down unceasingly for a long time; by reason of which (the lake) Sudarśana suddenly burst on the sixth day, at night, of the month Prausthapada in a century of years increased by thirty and also six more according to the calculation of the Gupta era.

V. 28 And then (the rivers) which take their rise from the Raivatāka mountain and this (river) Palasini (and) Sikatā-vilasini—(all these) wives of the ocean that had remained long in detention now once again joined their lord in due accordance with (the precepts of the) scriptures.

V. 29 Beholding the great confusion caused by the advent of (heavy) rains (the mountain) Urvayat wishing to do good to the ocean stretched out, as it were, his arm in the form of the river adorned with a great variety of flowers along the banks.

V. 30 The people verily filled on all sides with dismay

and uttering what they should do and remaining awake the whole night began to reflect in great bewilderment,

V. 31 Here in a moment (the lake) Sudarshu has (by the overflowing of its waters) assumed an unpleasing appearance towards all the people (as if it were) a man Can it ever (again) become pleasing of aspect..... having the appearance of an ocean, full of water.

V. 32-37. He having become and displaying the height of devotion towards his father for the good of the king as well as of the city and holding religion, which has auspicious results before him—in a century of years, increased by thirty and seven others also..... attentive to the sacred writings

..... and with a great power well known throughout the world , having sacrificed to the gods with oblations of clarified butter and with obeisance , having gratified the Brahmins with (presents of) riches, having paid respect to the citizens with such honours as they deserved, and such of (his) servants as were worthy of notice and to (his) friends with presents , acting in a respectable way and making an immeasurable expenditure of wealth, built after great efforts in a period of two months on the first day of the first half of the month Yusakhi in the year 137, the celebrated (lake) Sudarshu, not contaminated by nature, hundred cubits in length, sixty-eight cubits in breadth and seven purushas (in m's height), in depth and two hundred cubits (in diameter?) with well set stones so that it should last for eternal time on the

V. 38 Now may (the lake) with its edges washed by Chakravakas, Kraunchas and swans spreading their beauty along the edges of the very firmly-built dam ...with pure water... . (last) on the earth till the sun and the moon.

V. 39 And may the city also become prosperous ; full of inhabitants , cleansed from sin by prayers (of Brahman

sung by many hundreds of Brahmanas, (and free from)
drought and famine for a hundred years.....

Thus ends the composition of the work i. e. poem on
the restoration of the lake Sudarśana.

No. 5

Mandsor Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta II ?

General Remarks—This poetically very important inscription is incised on a black stone slab built into the wall of a Ghāṭ of the river Siwanā in the town *Mandsor* in H. H. the Maharaja Sindia's dominions in Mālwā. A number of valuable inscriptions are found at Mandsor which shows that in ancient times it was an important place. The writing which covers a space 2' 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by 1' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high is fortunately in a fair state of preservation. The latest edition of the inscription accompanied by an excellent facsimile is published in Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* pp. 79 ff.

The inscription is sectarian, its object being to record the restoration of a temple of the sun at *Daśapur*, in the year 529 of 'the Malava' era, which was originally built by a guild of silk-weavers in the year 493 during the time of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I? and the local king *Bandhūvarman*, son of *Viśvavarmā*.

The contents of the inscription which consists of 44 verses can be divided into the following sections—

- 1 The *Mangala* addressed to the sun-god. vv. 6-15.
- 2 Migration of a guild of silk-weavers from the *Lāṭa* country to *Daśapura*. vv. 4-5.
- 3 A poetic description of the town *Daśapura*, vv. 6-15
 - (a) its being a *tilaka* on the forehead of the province
 - (b) its beautiful lakes
 - (c) its gardens,

- (d) its lofty houses
- (e) its being surrounded by two rivers
- (f) its Brahmanis
- (g) its happy citizens

4 Description of the different vocations taken by the silk-weavers and of their good qualities vv. 16-21.

5 Their anxiety for doing something for spiritual good v. 22

6 The rule of the suzerain **Kumaragupta** v. 23.

7 The same of the local rulers **Visvavarman** and his son **Bandhuvavarman**. v. 24-28

8 The building of a sun-temple by the guild of silk-weavers in the time of **Bandhuvavarman** vv. 24-28.

9 The season-winter-and the date **Malava Samvat** 493 of its building v. 31-35.

10 The restoration of the temple damaged in the meanwhile vv. 36-38

11 The date M. S. 529 and the season-spring-of its restoration v. 39-41

12 A comparison of the temple with the moon and the **Kausthubha mani** v. 42

13 Wish for the long life of the temple v. 43

14 The name **Vatsabhitti** of the poet who composed the inscription v. 44

Historical value of the record—V. 23 of the inscription records the name of the suzerain **Kumaragupta** and v. 29 records the name of **Bandhuvavarman** the king of **Dasapura** (or mandsor) where the temple was built. The suzerain **Kumaragupta** is no doubt **Kumaragupta I**, the Gupta emperor who was the son of **Chandragupta II**. The local king **Bandhuvavarman** is only said to have been the son of

Viśvavarman. Nothing more is stated of him. The poet thus seems to have mentioned the names of the rulers at the time of building the temple in M. S. 493 (437 A. D.) but he does not mention the name of any ruler at time of rebuilding the temple and of the composition of the inscription in the year 529 of the Mālava era. Such a procedure is uncommon. The inscriber generally gives the name of the ruler in whose time the inscription is composed. The locative absolute phrase कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवी प्रशस्ति in v. 23 should therefore be taken in connection with the incident of repairing the temple and not of building the temple for the first time. Then we may say that the temple was built when Bandhuvarman, son of Viśvavarman was ruling at Daśapur, in M. S. 493. But at the time of rebuilding the temple in M. S. 529 after 36 years from the first incident there might not have been a local ruler of Daśapura and hence the name of the sovereign king Kumāragupta is mentioned by the poet. Kumāragupta, who was ruling in M. S. 529, must evidently be Kumāragupta II. A third suggestion is that the poet might have meant to take the locative absolute phrase कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवी प्रशस्ति in v. 23 with reference to both the incidents—of building the temple in 493 and of repairing it in 529 on both the incidents the sovereign king bore the same name Kumāragupta. (On this point see Mr. Pannalal's article in the *Hindusthan Review* Jan. 1918 and Mr. Banerji's article in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* Vol. I. i. p. 79 and my own article in *J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. II (N. S.) p. 176. *Date of the inscription*—The inscription clearly states that the sun-temple was repaired by the guild of silk weavers on the second day of the bright half of the month Phālguna, in M. S. 529. The inscription must have been composed and set up at the same time. The year 529 of the Mālava Samvat which is known to be the same as Vikrama Sani, is 473 A. D. *Poetical value of the inscription*—The chief interest of the inscription lies in its being a very beautiful little *Kāvya* which places its author *Vatsabhatti* in line with the

best of Sanskrit poets. It is a pity that of Vatsa Iaṭṭi no other work than this inscription is known to us and nowhere in the vast Sanskrit literature do we find him mentioned as is the case also with **Harishena**, the gifted poet of the Allahabad *prashasti*. Dr Buhler has done a great service to students of Sanskrit literature by showing the beauty of this composition in an article which is copied in full in the Appendix.

Metres used in the poem—शार्दुलविकीर्णित ॥ 1 and 2 वृषभतिलक ॥ 3, 5, 6, 11, 14, 18, 20, 22, 25, 27, 30, 31, 32 and 40 आर्य ॥ 4, 13, 21, 33, 38, 39, 41 and 42 उपद्रवज्ञा ॥ 7, 8, 9 and 24; उपज्ञाति ॥ 10, 12 and 42 दुर्गादिलवित ॥ 15 हरिणा ॥ 16; इन्द्रवज्ञा ॥ 17 and 26; मालिनी ॥ 19 and 43 वशस्थ ॥ 23 वशस्तिलक ॥ 27; मन्दकान्ता ॥ 29 and श्वेक (अनुच्छेद) ॥ 34, 35, 37 and 44

Notes V 3 क्षीरियज्ञा—See Buhler's criticism in App. for this comparison of the reddish morning (or evening) sun with the reddened cheeks of a drunken woman V 4 विहार—Fleit takes the word in the sense of a monastery. In the time of this inscription there may have been some Buddhist monasteries in southern Gujarat but the poet does not seem to refer to them in the verse the word is to be taken in its literal sense i.e. pleasure-resorts लाटविषय Generally the southern part of modern Gujarat, viz. the Districts of Broach Surat and Navasari was called by the name of लाट in ancient times the central part of modern Gujarat was also included in Lata V 9 स्वपुष्पमारे etc—The same idea is formerly expressed in 13 of 6th verse मदप्रगल्भारे—This same idea is repeated in v 32 12 ॥ 41 ॥ 1 V 9 भासि In v 9 10 and 12 the word भासि is to be taken as understood V. 10 शुद्ध्योपमा mark the tautology V 12 धर्ति विद्वार्य—The idea is that the houses had as it were come out from the nether world under which is not a happy one but is found sometimes in Sanskrit litera-

ture. V. 19 ऐणि guild. In ancient India, different craftsmen were organised. V. 20 अद्यां—in secret. V. 21 The significance of this verse is probably two fold. The silk-weavers supplied the whole world with beautiful silken cloths and were themselves the best ornaments (as described in the previous verse) of this earth. V. 24—गोत्ता—The word in ancient times seems to have been used in a technical sense meaning a governor. V. 26 It is better to suppose that the verb बभूव is understood here. V. 27 मदैःस्मयाचैः—here again there is a tautology. V. 33 विपुलकान्त etc, The adjectives विपुल, कांत and पीन are to be taken with उरु, स्तन and जघन V. 34. मालवानां गणस्थित्या—Dr. Fleet takes the word स्थिति to mean स्थापना and translates the phrase as 'by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas.' But according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Bhandarkar Comm. Vol p 191*) the word स्थिति here means 'usage' and the phrase must be translated as according to the usage of the Malava tribe. He says that the Mālavas had nothing to do with the foundation of the Vikrama era in which their records are dated. The old name of the era is found to be कृते whatever it means. The connection of the Mālavas with the era was only with regard to the system of reckoning tithis and thereby the years of the era. सेव्यघनस्तने—Fleet takes the reading स्तने, Buhler reads स्तने instead of खने. Buhler's reading seems to be better.

V. 35 सदस्य i. c. Pausha. Mark that the month when the temple was repaired is called तपस्य i. e. Phalguna.

V. 38 नमःस्तन—स्तुशन् is the nominative singular of the masculine; whereas the neuter स्तुशत् in apposition with एहं is 'what is required.' This however would not suit the metre. Hence the poet has allowed this mistake to stand.

V. 41 मधुपान etc. This idea is expressed thrice in the poem. V. 43 अमलिन...तावदस्तु—Strictly speaking the poet

ought to have used a verse in honour of the sun like the one in v. 27 p. 24, *qāf*—The same word is used in no 8 and 13

Translation.

V. 1. May the Sun, the cause of the 'origin and destruction of the world protect you—who is worshipped by the hosts of gods for the sake of their maintenance and by the Siddhas who wish for higher accomplishments (and) by the yogis entirely given to meditation (and) having the objects of their desire under their control as they long for liberation and by sages practising with devotion strict penances, who are able to curse or to offer blessings. V. 2, Bow to that sun—whom (even) the Brahmanical sages, though knowing the truth fail to comprehend even after exerting themselves, who nourishes the three worlds with (his) rays scattered in all directions, who, as he rises is praised by Gandharvas, gods, Siddhis, Kinnaras and men, and who fulfills the desires of his devotees. V. 3. May that Sun, decorated with glorious beams, protect you,—who shines brightly day after day with the mass of (his) rays flowing down over the expansive and lofty summit of the lordly mountain of the East (and) who is reddish like the surface of the cheeks of an intoxicated woman Vv 4-5 From the district of *Lāta* which is pleasing with choice trees that are bowed down by the weight of (their) flowers and with temples, assembly—halls and pleasure gardens (and) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation, to (this) city of *Daśapura* there came, full of respect,—first, in thought and afterwards (in person) in a band, together with (their) children and kinsmen,—men who were renowned in the world for (skill in their) craft (of silk—weaving) and who, being manifestly attracted by the virtues of the king of the country, not minding the continuous discomforts caused by the journey and its accompaniments. V. 6 And in course

(of time) this (city) became the forehead decoration of the earth, which is adorned with a thousand mountains whose rocks are besprinkled with the drops of rut that trickle down from the sides of the temples of rutting eleplnts, (and) which has for (its) decorative (ear)crests the trees weighed down with flowers. V. 7 Where the lakes, crowded with *Karandava*-ducks, look beautiful (lit shine) having the water close to (their) banks made variegated with the various flowers fallen down from the trees growing on the banks, (and) being adorned with blowing waterlilies. V. 8 (Where) in some places the lakes look beautiful (at shine) with the swans that are tawny brown by pollen fallen from the lotuses shaken by the tremulous waves; and in other places with the water-lilies bent down by the great burden of their filaments.

V. 9 Where the groves look beautiful being adorned with lordly trees bending under the burden of their flowers and are full of the humming of the flights of bees wild with intoxication and with the city women walking for pleasure and singing perpetually, V. 10, Where the houses look beautiful with flying flags, with a number of tender women and with very white towers rising higher resembling the peaks of white clouds variegated with flashes of lightening.

V. 11, And where other houses look beautiful with long terraces and stone seats (and thus) resembling the lofty summits of the mountain) Kailasa; resounding with musical sounds; having pictured representations arranged (in them); (and) being adorned with groves of waving plantain trees.

V. 12, Where the houses look beautiful, which are decorated with rows of storeys that have, as it were, risen up by cleaving asunder the earth and thus resembling the rows of aerial chariots; (and) which are as pure as the rays of the full moon. V. 13 This (city) looks beautiful by being surrounded (lit. embraced) by two charming rivers, with tremulous waves, as if it were the body of the cupid (embraced)

in secrecy by (his wives) Priti and Rati possessed of having breasts V 14 Like the sky with its multitudes of glowing planets it shines with Brahmanis endowed with truthfulness, forgiveness, self-control, mental quietude, austerities, purity, courage, Vedic studies, straightforwardness, modesty, steadfastness and intelligence the repositories of learning and penance (and yet) free from pride V 15 So, coming together (and) having their friendship augmented more and more every day by often coming in contact (with each other) and being gratified and treated honourably like sons by the kings they happily lived in the city V 16 Some of them became very competent in the science of archery, (in which the twanging of the bow is) pleasing to the ear others, devoted themselves to hundreds of excellent achievements, some (became) acquainted with wonderful tales and others unassuming in (their) modesty (and) devoted to discourses of the true religion (became) able to say much that was free from harshness (and yet was) salutary V 17 Some excelled in their own business (of silk-weaving) and by others, possessed self-confidence the science of astrology was mastered, and others courageous in war even today effect by force the destruction of (their) enemies V 18 Similarly others wise possessed of attractive wives (and) belonging to a famous and high lineage, shine others by actions proper to their lineage keeping a vow of truthfulness careful to oblige those that are attached to them with the accompaniment of confidence, are skilled in conferring favours upon (their) intimates

V 19 (And so) the guild shines gloriously all around through those who are of this sort, and through others who have overcome their attachment for worldly objects and are given to works of piety who are soft in their mind and are possessed of much goodness—and are (thus) very gods in an earthly habitation

Vv 20-21 (Just as) a woman though endowed with youth and beauty (and) adorned with the arrangement of

golden necklaces and betel-leaves and flowers does not go to meet (her) lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths.—(so) the whole of this region of the earth, is adorned through them, (as if) with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with divisions of different colours, (and) pleasing to the eye. **V. 22** Having reflected that the world is very unsteady, like the moving by wind of the charming sprout and ear-ornaments, of the Vidyadharis ; (and similarly) the life of a man and also the vast stores of wealth, then mind became steady and inclined towards virtue. **V. 28** While **Kumāragupta** was reigning over the (whole) earth, whose moving girdle is the verge of the four oceans; whose high breasts are (the mountains) Sumeru and Kailāsa. (and) whose smile are the blowing flowers showered forth from the borders of the woods ;—

V. 24 There was a governor (lit protector) (named) king **Viśvavarmā**, who was equal in wisdom to **Sukra** and **Bṛihaspati**, who was the ornament of the king on the earth ; (and) whose deeds in war were equal to (those of) **Partha** ;—

V. 25 Who was very compassionate to the unhappy ; who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and the distressed who was very kind; (and) who was a very tree of plenly to (his) friends, and the 'giver of security to the frightened, and the friend of (his) countrymen. **V. 26** His son (was) King **Bāndhuvarman** endowed with firmness and uprightness loved ; by (his) kinsmen; a brother as it were, to (his) subjects; the remover of the sufferings of (his) relations ; the only skilful in destroying the ranks of (his) proud enemies.

V. 27 Who was handsome, youthful, dexterous in war, and endowed with modesty, king though he was, yet was he never carried away by passion, arrogance, and other (evil sentiments); the very incarnation of erotic passion and though unadorned with ornaments he was as it were a second cupid.

V 28 Even today when the beautiful long-eyed wives of (his) enemies afflicted with the severe pangs of widowhood think of him a tremour caused torturing their compact breasts with fear.

V 29 While he the noble Bandhuvarman, the best of kings the high shouldered one, was governing this city of Daśapura which was well prospering a grand (and) incomparable temple of the (Sun) was caused to be built by the silk-cloth weavers that had formed into a guild with the stores of wealth acquired by their craft —

V 30 (The temple) which having broad and lofty spires (and) resembling a mountain, (and) white like the mass of the rays of the moon that has risen up shines charming to the eye and comparable the lover and wellset crest jewel of (this) city of the West

Vv 31-33 In that season which unites men with lovely women which is pleasant on account of the feeble rays of the sun and the warmth of fire when the fish lie low down in the water when the rays of the moon the top floors of houses sandal ointment palm fans and necklaces afford no enjoyment when the water-lilies are burnt down by frost which is lovely by the humming of the bees rejoiced by the juice of the full-blown flowers of the *rohita* and *pryangu* plants and the jasmine—creepers when the solitary branches of the *latai* and *nagana* trees dance freely with the force of wind cold with particles of frost and harsh wherein the filling of the frost and snow is uncared for by the close embraces of the massive thighs the lovely breasts and the bulky hips of their beloveds by young men completely under the influence of love when for hundred added by ninety three years had passed according to the usage of the Malava tribe In the season when massive breasts (of women) are (most) enjoyable (स्त्रेषु प्रसन्नता) or when the low thunder

of the clouds is most welcome शेषधनस्त्वने); on the auspicious thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya —this temple was consecrated with the ceremony of auspicious benediction.

Vv. 36-37 In the course of a long time under other kings part of this temple fell into disrepair; so now in order to increase their own fame the whole of this very grand temple fell into disrepair; so now in order to increase their own fame the whole of this very grand temple of the sun has been repaired again by the very charitable guild, (in such a way that it became) very stately (and) pure, touching the sky as it were, with (its) carming spires, (and) being the resting-place of the spotless rays of the moon and the sun at the time of their rising. V. 39. When **five centuries of years increased by twenty and nine years** had elapsed; on the second day of the bright fortnight of the pleasant month Tapasya, in (V. 40-41) In the season when cupid whose body was destroyed by Hara develops (this number of five) arrows by attaining unity with the fresh bursting forth of the flowers of the *asoka* tree and *kelaka* and *sinduvāra*-trees, and the pendulous *alimuklaka*-creeper, and the wild jasmine; (41) when the solitary large branches of the *nagana* tree are full of the humming of the swarms of gratified bees by drinking honey; (and) when the beautiful and luxuriant *rodhra*-trees swing (to and fro) with the fresh bursting forth of flowers.

V. 42 The whole of this noble city is adorned with (this) best of temples, just as the pure sky is adorned with the moon, and the breast of (the god) Śāngin with the *kaustubha*-jewel V. 43 As long as (the god) Is a wears a mess of tawny matted locks, charming like the spotless rays of the moon (on his forehead); and (as long as) (the god) Śāngin (wears) a garland of lovely lotuses on his shoulder;—so long may this stately temple stand here for ever !

V. 44 By the command of the guild, and owing to (their) devotion, (this) temple of the sun was caused to be built, and this (prashasti) that precedes was, with particular care, composed by Vatsabhatti. Hail to the composer and the writer, and to those who read or listen (to it)! Let there be success.

No. 6

Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman.

General Remarks — This inscription is engraved on a magnificent monolith column of good sandstone—probably raised as a *Ranastambha*—found in a field at a short distance from the town *Mandasor* in Central India. The writing covers a space 3' 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 1' 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high and consists of nine lines engraved in beautiful characters. The inscription is edited last by Dr. Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions* No. 33 pp. 142 ff. A duplicate copy of this inscription is engraved on another column found in the same place. (See *F. G. I.* No 34)

The inscription is non-sectarian its object being to narrate the erection of a column for the purpose of reciting the glory and power of a great king named *Yasodharman*. It can be thus summarised—

In the first verse the god *Šiva* (*Šūlapāni*) is invoked. The next seven verses extol the high qualities and the warlike deeds of a powerful king named *Yasodharman*. The name of the family to which he belonged is not given. The second and the third verses state that the earth afflicted by the evil ways of other kings went to him for help and that he was like *Manu*, *Bharata* etc. The fourth verse states that he possessed countries, which not even the *Guptas* and the *Hīnas* could subdue. It further states that his dominions included the whole of N-India from the river *Laubitya* (i. e. *Brahmaputra*) to the W. Ocean and from the *Himālayas* to the mountain *Mahēndra*. The fifth verse records that even the powerful king *Mihirakula* had to do homage to him. The sixth

seventh verses state in a poetic way that a column was raised by him-evidently the one inscribed with this inscription-to recite his glory. The last verse of the record gives the name Vāsula of the poet who composed the inscription. In the post script the name of the engraver, Govinda, is given.

Historical value of the inscription:- It is an unfortunate thing that of the lineage of Yaśodharman, the hero of this *prasasti* nothing is known either from this or from any other inscription. From his description it seems that he was a very powerful King, who held countries which not even the Gupta emperors nor the Huna Kings could subdue. His Kingdom is said to have extended from the river Lauhitya to the Western Ocean and from the Himalaya mountains to the mountain Mahendra. From the following inscription (No. 7 below) which also refers to this king it seems that he was also called Vishnuvardhana and that his royal insignia was Aulikara, the meaning of which is not clear.

Another important point of history which our inscription states is that the great Huna King Mihirakula was severely defeated by Yaśodharman. There is another account given by the Chinese pilgrim Hieuen Tsiang according to which a king of Magadha named Baladitya defeated Mihirakula. There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to which of these two statements is correct. They evidently suppose that these statements refer to the final defeat of the Huna chief. Some scholars suppose that the statement of the Chinese pilgrim who wrote in later times on second hand hearsay information may be set aside and the credit of defeating Mihirakula must be given only to Yaśodharman. 'If Yaśodharman' to quote Dr. J. J. Modi (*Bhandarkar Common.* Vol. p. 67) 'had not been

has written last on the subject (*Ind. Hist. Quart.* Vol. III p. 1) proposes that Mihirakula trying to enlarge the frontiers of his kingdom was met in Malva with Yaśodharman and was thoroughly routed and driven back north-wards. This disaster encouraged Narasimhagupta alias Bālāditya of Magadha, one of his tributary chiefs to throw off his allegiance. Mihirakula tried to punish him but was severely defeated by Bālāditya. He thus means to say that Mihirakula was defeated by the two rulers at different times and both the accounts therefore of his defeat are correct.

Date of the inscription:— The inscription is not dated but the engraver of this inscription and that of the following inscription which is expressly dated as M. S. 589 i. e. 532 A. D. is the same namely Govinda. In the next inscription Yaśodharman is said to have conquered many kings in the east and the north and to have assumed the title of an emperor; but it does not record the important victory of Yaśodharman over Mihirakula. Hence it seems that the present inscription is later than the inscription of V. S. 589 (532 A. D.)

Poetical value of the inscription:— The poetry of the inscription can be said to be on the whole good. The poet Vasula no doubt seems to have possessed high power of imagination. Instances of this are the first half of the seventh verse and the latter half of the eighth verse. His language is, however, stiff and the selection of words in many places is not happy.

The metres used in the inscription:— Only two metres are used by the poet: one श्लोक in the first eight verses and the other चतुर्दशी (चतुर्दशी) in the last i. e. ninth verse.

*Notes—*V. 1 यस्य qualifies स्तनित् in the following phrase. The whole is not a good phrase. त्रुमेणि—As ordinary bulls pierce the ordinary hillocks the heavenly bull of the god Siva strikes by his horns the mountain meru पश्चाण्डाण्ड—A mark

of five fingers dipped into red powder was regarded auspicious. This expression occurs very frequently in Harshacharita cf 2nd Uchchhvārb 9th para and 4th Uchchhvāsa.

V. 2 शक्तिपाणिरेत्-It is a common belief that whenever the earth is afflicted by evil persons she goes to Vishnu for help.

V. 3 कल्पना॒ इति॑ etc-The exact meaning of the phrase is not clear.

नावभाषे॑-The negative participle न॑ has to be taken with प्रयुक्तः and not with अवभाषे॑. पांसुसु॑-The comparision is inappropriate. सन्नाट्॑-A technical title of a sovereign who rules over kings and sometimes has performed the Rājastaya sacrifice.

V. 3 मतु॑, मरत्॑ (son of Dushyanta) अर्लक्षं and मान्धार॑ were the great emperors of mythical India. cf Kadambari Purā, para 122 of Kane's edition, एते हि चतुर्दशिजलबग्नाहनदुर्लितबलम-दावलिक्षा दशरथमग्नेरथभरतदिलोपालक्षमान्धारुश्रीतमः॑ etc मरत्॑ and मान्धार॑ are two of the seven Chakravartis. For मान्धार॑ see Ramayana, uttara, chap 67 and Vishnu P. IV. 2 For अर्लक्षं see Vishnu P. IV 8.8. V. 4 गुस्तनाथ॑: At the time of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta I the dominions of the Guptas were confined to Prayāga, Saketa and Magadha only. But Samudragupta extended his kingdom so much that it included the whole of Northern India. His son Chandragupta II further acquired the western territories of Malva, Gujarat and Kathiawad by defeating and putting an end to the Kshatrāpa dynasty in the west. His son Kumāragupta and Skandagupta at least maintained their sway over this whole kingdom. But after Skandagupta the Gupta emperor ceased to possess any power over the western countries including Mālvā where Yasodharman was ruling. It seems that the inscription refers to the rule of these later Gupta rulers. Otherwise the statement cannot be applicable in the case of the early Gupta sovereigns who did hold vast territories. The description in the inscription is very much exaggerated. हुणाधिपति॑ न॑ This must refer to the Huna kings Toramāna and Mihirakula. The latter is mentioned in the

v. 6 of the inscription. We have no sufficient knowledge of the extent of the kingdom of these kings. An inscription of Toramana is found at Eran in C. P. and one of Mihirakula. Tormana's son, is found at Gwalior. We have, therefore to suppose that the Huna Kings held territories of eastern Malva and a part of C. P. Now since western Malva or, the territory held by Yasodharman was not under the Huna kings the statement in the inscription is found to be correct.

V. 5 आलीहत्य—Lauhitya is the other name of the river Brahmaputra. आमहेन्द्र—It is doubtful whether this denotes the famous Mahendragiri or Mahendrāchala in the Ganjam District among the eastern Ghats or another mountain of the same name not so well known among the western Ghats. सुहिन शिखरिणः—of one having snowy peaks i. e. the Himalaya mountain. V. 6. स्थाणो...येन Fleet takes this to refer to Yasodharman but the construction of the verse makes us take it with Mihirakula. The construction stands thus—येन स्थाणोरन्यथा ग्रणतिकृ-पणतां उत्तमाग न प्रापित्, यस्य मुजाह्यां आस्तिष्ठो हिमविरिः दुर्गेशद्वाभिमानं न वहसि तेन मिहिरकुलेन अपि यस्य (यशोधर्मण) पादयुगम अस्तिनं ।

It will be noted that we have to supply in connection with चहनि in the second पदा the negative participle न

V. 7 यशोधर्मण—The form *dharmian* is not of frequent occurrence as the form *varman* is. स्वर्वीतिः—The genitive is in the sense of dative i. e. स्वर्वीति दिव माँ निर्देष्टु.

V. 8 नियमितं नामन् लोकवृत्तं—i. e. अमुना नियमितं लोकवृत्तं न चलति. Controlled by him the conduct of mankind does not swerve from the right course.

Yasodharman to the effect that—"His birth took place in a praiseworthy lineage; there is seen in him a charming behaviour that is destructive of sin : he is the abode of religion; (and) the (good) customs of mankind continue unimpeded as regulated by him".

IV. 9 From a desire thus to praise this king of meritorious actions, (these) verses have been composed by Vasula, the son of Kakka. This eulogy has been engraved by Govinda.

No. 7

Mandasor Stone inscription of Yasodharman-Vishnuvardhana.

General Remarks—This inscription engraved beautifully on a black stone tablet was found in an old well of Mandasor in Malva in Central India. The inscribed portion measures 2'10" broad by 1'5" high and contains 25 lines of writing. It was edited last by Dr. Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions* No. 35. The inscription is not sectarian its object being to record the construction of a large well by a person named Daksha, younger brother of Dharmadosha, who was a minister of the emperor Yasodharman-Vishnuvardhan, in memory of his (Daksha's) deceased uncle Abhayadatta, evidently in Mandasor where the inscription was found.

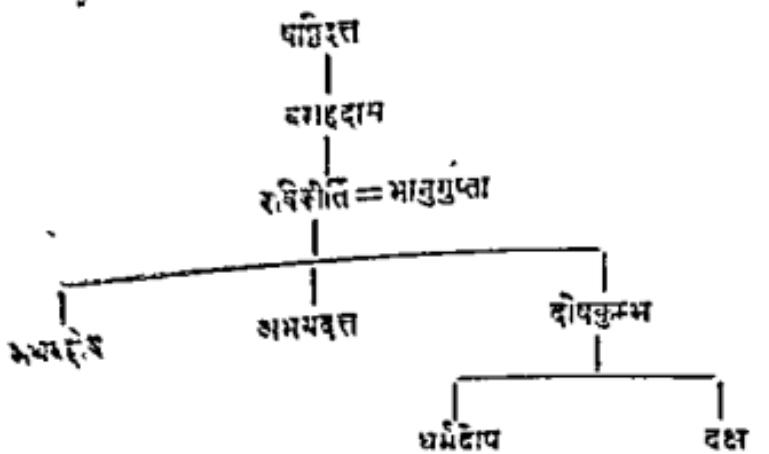
The contents of the inscription can be thus divided—

- 1 *Mangala* addressed to the god Siva vv. 1—3.
- 2 *Mangala* addressed to the god of water, v. 4.
- 3 Description of Yasodharman, also called Vishnuvardhan; vv. 5—9.
- 4 Description of his servant named Shashthidatta of Naigama family, vv. 10—11.
- 5 His son was Varahadasa v. 12.
- 6 His son was Ravikirti; vv. 13—14.
- 7 His wife was Bhanugupta, who bore three sons v. 15

8. The eldest of the sons was Bhagavat dosha who was minister of the king whose dominions extended from the Vindhya to the Pariyatra mountain and the Sindhu river. vv. 16-21.
9. His younger brother Daksha (alias Nirdosha) dug a well vv 22-23.
10. In the year M S 589 v. 24.
11. In the season of spring vv 25-26.
12. Wish for the long life of the well v 27.
13. Wish for the long life of Daksha v 28.

In the postscript the name of the engraver, Govinda, is given. The *historical* points found from the inscription are, as noted in the previous inscription, the mention of Yaśodharman in the fifth verse. He is undoubtedly the same king mentioned in the previous inscription. In the following i.e. the sixth verse another king named Vishnuvardhan is mentioned. His family badge was Aulikura and after defeating several kings in the east and north he acquired the imperial titles—Rajadhiraja and Paramesvara. There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to whether Vishnuvardhan being mentioned after Yaśodharman, was the successor or the feudatory of Yaśodharman or is identical with Yaśodharman. But it seems that the last supposition is correct. From the preceding inscription it seems that Yaśodharman was a very powerful king who held vast territories and was no doubt an emperor. In the present inscription Vishnuvardhan is said to have defeated many kings and acquired imperial titles this denotes that his predecessor was an ordinary king. But if Yaśodharman was his predecessor he had no reason for being proud of his conquests. He cannot also be feudatory of Yaśodharman. For he holds imperial titles and is the actual ruler of Mandasor where, as the preceding inscription denotes Yaśodharman was ruling. For one would rather raise a pillar of victory in his

is peculiar and is not according to the rules of Pānini as is विनाय in v. 5. शौलिकर—The meaning of this term is not clear. Fleet infers (*Gupta Inscriptions* p 151 n. 4) that it may denote either 'the hot-rayed (sun)' or 'the cool-rayed (moon).' लाञ्छन—'crest' is the technical term for the principal emblem impressed by kings on the copper-seals attached to their charters, is quite distinct from the emblem on their *dhvajas* or banners. V. 9 धूसरेण—cf रामम धूसरेण in *Kṛātarjuniyam* XVI, 7. पर्णीयृत etc. i. e. looked at from the wrong side of the feathers. V. 11 नैगलनां—The genealogy of this family as given and the record is as follows—



V. 15 हरिमुज etc—Like the (three) sacrificial fires, of *Raghuvamśa* XV, 35, where the three brothers of Rāma are described as श्रेतामितेजसः मानुगुप्ता—Fleet suggests, (*Gupta Inscriptions* p. 152) that she might be a sister of the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta as the coincidence of name and time favour us to do. In those times Brāhmaṇis could marry Kshatriya girls. V. 17 विदुर An epic herd, the younger brother of Dhritarāshtra and Pandu, described as the wisest of all prudent and sagacious people. V. 19 राजस्थान्ययूत्या—The explanation of the word राजस्थानीय in Kshemendra's *Lokafrakāśa*, IV, as given by Dr. Buhler (*Ind. Ant.* V, 207) is प्रजापालनार्थं उद्धर्हा रक्षयनि च स राजस्थानीयः he who carries out the object of protecting subjects, and shelters them is called a राजस्थानीय i. e. a viceroy. But sometimes the word denotes an ordinary official in inscriptions (See *F. G. I.* p. 157, n. 1) V. 21 दाहुष्येय—a bull. The word is not generally met with in dictionaries खसुखमनभिचाग्न् i. e. not seeing his own comfort. असंगा धूं—Kielhorn takes it as equivalent to अप्रतिवर्धता meeting with no obstruction of Malinātha on *Raghuvamśa* III, 63. V. 22 रक्षामण्डन—Synonymous with रक्षामूर्ण ornament or amulet worn for protection (against evil spirits etc.) ज्ञातिरस्तैः The reading ज्ञाति for जाति was suggested by Dr. Kielhorn cf ज्ञातिरूद्देः in *Raghuvamśa* XVII, 12. निर्देपनाम—The poet intends that the word is to be taken both as a proper name and as an adjective. V. 24 मालवगणस्थितिवशात्—See note on v. 34 of No 7 above.

Translation.

V. 1 Victorious is he, (the god) Pinākin, the lord of (all) the worlds, the splendour of whose teeth (displayed) in smiles, talks and songs, and resembling the lustre of lightning sparkling in the night, envelopes and brings into full view (all) this universe. V. 2 May he, (the god) Śambhu, confer many

blessings on you—employed by whom in the work of production, preservation, and destruction of (all) beings, (the god) Svayambhu carries his commands, for the sake of the maintenance of (all) the worlds, and by whom, raising him to dignity in the world, he has been brought to the condition of being the father (of the universe). V. 3 May the serpent of the creator of the world accomplish the destruction of your suffering—(that serpent) the multitude of whose foreheads, bowed down by being overcome with the heavy weight of the jewels in (their) hoods, obscures the radiance of the moon (on his master's forehead) (and) who (with the folds of his body) binds fast on (his master's) head the chaplet of bones which is full of holes. V. 4 May the creator of waters (i. e. the ocean) which was dug out by the sixty thousand sons of Sagara (and) which possesses a lustre like (that of) the sky, preserve for a long time the glories of the master of this well. V. 5 Now victorious is that king named Yaśodharman who having plunged into the army of (his) enemies as into a grove of thorn-apple trees (and) having bent down the reputations of heroes like the tender plants and creepers, effects the adornment of (his) body with the fragments of sprouts in the form of wounds (inflicted on him).

V. 6 And, again, victorious over the earth is that famous king, Vishnuvardhana, the conqueror in war, by whom his own famous lineage, which has the *aulikara* crest, has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and higher.

V. 7 By him, having brought into subjection with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many (kings) of the north, this second name of 'supreme king of kings and supreme lord' pleasing in the world (but) difficult of attainment has been adopted. V. 8 Through him, having conquered the earth with (his own) arm, many countries—in which the sun

is obscured by the smoke resembling dense dark-blue clouds, of the oblations of the sacrifices (and) which abound with thick and thriving crops through (the god Varuna) Maghavan pouring water from the clouds at proper times, (and) in which the ends of the sprouts of the mango-trees in the parks are eagerly plucked in joy by the hands of wanton women-enjoy the happiness of having a (good) king

V 9 Through the dust grey like the hide of an ass stirred up by whose armies (their) banners lifted on high (and) whose infuriated elephants have by their tusks tossed out the Lodhra trees and which have made the crevices of the Vindhya mountains resonant with their noise on their way through the forests,-the orb of the sun appears dark (and) dull-rayed as if it were an eye in a peacock's tail reversed

V 10 There was Shrutihidhi a servant of the best of kings who were founders of a family - whose good fame was known through his resorting to the feet of the lord who by his own resoluteness had conquered the six enemies (and) who was indeed very prosperous

V 11 As the torrent of (the river) Gingi flowing high and low (spreads abroad) from (the mountain) Himavat, (and) the great expanse of the waters of (the river) Revā from the moon (so) from him whose dignity was manifested there spreads a pure rice of Naigamas most worthy to be sought in fellowship V 12 A son was born to him from a wife of good family who resembled him (in good qualities) and was the source of fame whom (being called) Varishadisa (and) being self controlled (and) of great worth people say as if he were an (incarnate) portion of (the god) Hari

V 13 Like the sun the high summit of a mountain Ravikirti with the greatness of his soul illuminated that family which was eminent in being the abode of men who perform good actions which had its foundations well established in the earth (and) which maintained a very firm position that

was free from (any risk of) being broken V 14 (Ravikirti) by whom, sustaining the pure (and) undeviating path of traditional law that is acceptable to good people, nobility of birth was not falsified (even) in the Kali age. V. 15. From him (his) chaste wife Bhānuguptā gave birth to three sons who dispelled the darkness (of ignorance) with the rays of (their) intellects as if (she had produced three) sacrificial fires. V. 16. The first (of them) was Bhagavaddosha, the support of his brethren in the paths of (religious) actions, just as Uddhava (was) of the Andhakas. V. 17. Who was Vedhas having intricate ways of finding out the meaning (of words) ; who like Vidura, always looked far ahead with deliberation, (and) who is with great pleasure sung of by poets in Sanskrit and Prakrit constructions of the arrangement of sentences as being well versed in speech. V. 18. And after him there came that (well known) Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position on the earth, (and) collecting (in order to dispel it) the fear of (his) subjects (?) ;—by whose eye of intellect, resembling the eyes of a spy, no trifle, however remote, remained undetected, (even) at night;— V. 19. (Abhayadatta), of fruitful actions who like (Brihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, to the advantage of those who belonged to the (four) castes, with the functions of a Rājasthāniya (or viceroy protected the region, countries presided over by his own upright counsellors, which lies between the *Vindhya* (mountains), from the slopes of the summits of which there flows the pale mass of the waters of (the river) *Revā*, and the mountain *Pariyātra*, on which the trees are bent down in (their) frolicsome leaps by the long tailed monkeys (and which stretches) from the (river) Sindhu. V. 20. Now he, Dharmadosha, the son of Doshakumbha, by whom,.. this kingdom has been made as if (it were still) in the Krita-age, free from any intermixture of all the castes, and peaceable and undisturbed by care bears in accordance with justice the great yoke of government that had (previously) been borne by him

(i. e Doshakirti) V 21 Who not seeing his own comforts (and) bearing for the sake of his lord, in the difficult path (of administration), the burden (of government), very heavily weighted and not shared by another, wears royal apparel only as a mark of distinction (and not for his own pleasure), just as a bull wears a wrinkled and too lengthy dew-lip V 22 His dexterous younger brother, *Daksha* -by excellent relatives invested, as with a decoration, with the protection of friends, being as it were (Dharmadosha's) broid shouldered (right) arm to which excellent relatives had fastened a beneficial ornament to guard (against evil spirits) who bore a faultless name, that causes great joy to the ear and heart,—caused to be excavated this large well V 23 This great (and) skilful work was, achieved here by him, possessed of great intellect for the sake of his beloved paternal uncle, Abhayadatta, who was cut off by the mighty (god) Kritanta, just as if he were a tree the shade of which is first to be resorted to for pleasure (and) which yields fruits that are salutary and sweet through ripeness, destroyed by a lordly elephant Vv. 24-25 Five hundred autumns, together with ninety less by one having elapsed according to the established usage of the tribal constitution of the *Malavas* (and) being written down for the determination (lit knowledge) of time in the season in which the songs, of the cuckoos, whose utterances are low and tender, cleave open, as it were, the minds of those who are far away from home like the arrows of (cupid) and in which the hummings of the flights of bees, sounding low on account of the burden (that they carry) is heard through the wood , like the resounding bow of (the god Kamadeva) who has the banner of flowers, when its string is stretched wide, in the season in which there is the month when flowers burst forth, when the wind soothing the affectionate (but) perverted thoughts of proud women who are angry with their lovers, as if they were charming fresh sprouts arrayed in colours devotes itself to breaking down (their) pride,—in that season this (well)

was caused to be constructed. V. 27. As long as the ocean, embracing with (its) lofty waves, as if with long arms, the orb of the moon, which has its full assemblage of rays (and is more) lovely (than ever) from contact (with the waters), maintains friendship (with it), so long let this excellent well endure, possessing a (wheel) moving around the edge of the masonry work, which resembles a garland of skulls (and) discharging pure waters the flavour of which is like that of nectar. V 28. May this Daksha protect religion for a long time he who is intelligent, polite, true to (his) promises, modest, brave attentive to old people, grateful, full of energy and unwearied in the the works of (his) lord, (and) faultless. (This eulogy) has been engraved by Govinda.

No. 8.

Haraha Stone Inscription of Isanavarman.

General Remarks—This inscription incised nicely on a stone slab was found at Haraha, in the Bārābānki District in U. P. and is now preserved in the Provincial Museum Lucknow. The inscribed portion measures 2'2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 1'4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and consists of 22 lines. Mr. Hirananda Sastri has edited the inscription with a facsimile in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XIV p. 115.

The contents of the inscription can be arranged in the following sections—

- 1 Praise of the god Bhavī (i. e. Siva), the destroyer of the demons Tripura and Andhaka: vv. 1 and 2.
- 2 The Mukharas were descended from the hundred sons whom king Asvapati got from Vaivasvata. (Yama) v. 3.
- 3 Harivarman was the first of them, who was also called Jvalamukha vv. 4 and 5.

4 His son was Ādityavarman. vv. 6 and 7.

5 His son was Isānavarman who is highly praised vv. 8-19.

 i He conquered the lord of the Andhras, the Sulikas, and the Gaudas v 13

 ii He had a son named Suryavarman. v. 16

6 Isānavarman rebuilt an old temple of Śiva under the name of Kshemeśvara v. 20.

7 In the [Mālava] Samvat 611. v 21.

8 In the season of autumn v. 22.

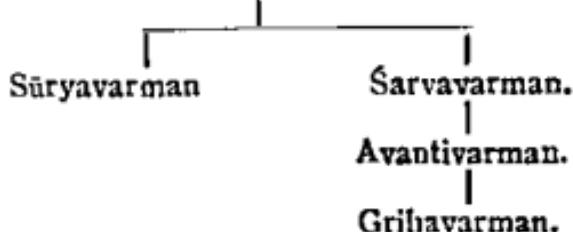
9 Raviśānti of Garggarakita composed the *prāśasti*. v. 23

10 Mihiravarman engraved it. post-script.

Historical importance. See Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar's article 'A Haraha inscription published in the Ind. Ant Vol. XLVI p 125. The great historical importance of this inscription is that though five (F. G. I Nos 49, 50, 48, 51, and 47) more records of the Maukhari family are found, it is only this inscription that gives us a date for a Maukhari king. It states that Isānavarman rebuilt a Śiva temple in the year 611, v 21. Though no specific mention is made of the era there is no doubt that it is the Mālava or the Vikrama era (see Mr. Majumdar's article p 125. The corresponding Christian date is therefore 554. This date helps us to settle the chronology of the undated Maukhari inscriptions. The Maukharis whom our poet, Ravisanti, connects with the solar race were no doubt a very ancient clan, as a clay seal bearing the legend *Mokhalinam* written in Mauryan Brahmi characters (300 B C) was discovered at Gaya. From several inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries A D and from Bana's *Hṛshacharita* the Maukharis seem to have been powerful rulers. Though Mukhara is said to be the remote ancestor of the dynasty its genealogy as known from epigraphs runs thus— (See F G I No 47, Asirgadh copper seal inscription of Śaravarman and C. V. Vaidya's Hist. of Medieval Hindu India Vol I p 33)

Mahārāja Harivarman — Jayasvāmini.
 " Adityavarman — Harshaguptā.
 " Iśavaravarman — Upaguptā.

Mahārājādhīrāja Iśānavarman (M. S 611)



According to the Asirgadh inscription (opt cit), which makes no mention of Sūryavarman Iśānavarman was succeeded by Śarvavarman. It is probable that Sūryavarman had predeceased his father. E. I. XIV No. 111.

Of these kings Iśānavarman to whose time our inscription belongs was the most powerful. He is styled Mahārājādhīrāja in other records. The description of his conquests in the 13th verse of our record is important. He is said to have defeated the Āndhras, the Śālikas and the Gaudas and forced them to accept his sovereignty. Unfortunately nothing definite is known of these kings defeated by Iśānavarman. The defeat of the Āndhra king is also referred to in the Junapur inscription (F. G. I. No. 51), which also must belong to the time of Iśānavarman. As regards the Śālikas various suggestions have been made. According to Rev. Heras they might be Cholis as Cholas could easily be Sanskritised into Śālikas. The Cholis and the Maukhatis were constantly at war and ultimately Iśānavarman was successful in freeing his kingdom from the Chola sway. (*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* Vol. I p. 130) But Mr. Srikanta Sastri suggests that the were undoubtedly the Mulakas, people of the Mulaka Nadu, Śālikas a part of the Andhra country itself. Though they became a section of the great Andhra community they had originally preserved their individuality and find an independent mention

in inscriptions along with another sud-community community called the Asmakas (*ibid* II. 178) The name Gauda occurs for the first time in this inscription but we do not know what local dynasty was ruling in Bengal at the time of the inscription. But the conquest of the province by the Maukhari's undoubtedly signalises the extinction of the Gupta rule in Bengal.

Poetical importance—The poet who composed this *prashasti* was Ravisanti, the son of Kumaraśanti and a resident of Gargarakata. The place cannot be definitely identified. But it was probably a fort somewhere on the bank of the river Ghāgrā, one of the chief tributaries of the Ganges. If so our poet comes from a country which was famous for its Gaud style of poetry. Though the poet is gifted with high power of imagination his language is very stiff and artificial. The following *Sabdānuprasas* are used—स्थितीनां स्थितये स्थितस्य, कोर्तयः कीर्तयि-तव्य, v. 5: राजन् राजक v. 11; यामास्त्रियामा v. 14: कामित क्रमि v. 17; The last line of the v. 17 can stand as a maxim.

The metres used in the *prashasti* are—इन्द्रवज्र v. 6; उपजाते v. 5; गाया v. 3; दुतीवसंबिते v. 15; मालिनी v. 7; शार्दूल-विक्रीदिते vv. 1, 2, 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 17, 18 and 19; लोक (अनुष्ठृप्) vv. 21 and 23; सरथरा vv. 9 and 12.

Notes.—V. 1 अर्थस्थितयोषितः—Siva in his Archanārinateśvara form. The paradox is beautifully shown by the poet.

V. 3 अश्रवति—A king of the Madra country, father of Sāvitri. The god of death, Yama bestowed on Sāvitri several blessings one of which was to the effect that her father Aśvapati may have 100 sons. षष्ठस्वत i. e. Yama.

मुखरा—The meaning of the word as applied to the family is not known. According to Kaiyata and also Vāmana, the two famous expositors of Panini's system of grammar, who

flourished probably about the 13th and 7th cent. A. D. respectively the term is a patronymic signifying the descendants of Mukhra, who must have been the adipurusha of the family. It seems to be the name given to the man for his fighting in the forefront of the armies which he led into action. V. 6 तस्योद्ये—etc The same idea is expressed in v. 2 p. 44. बर्णश्रमाचार etc. The same idea is expressed in v. 20 p. 23. V. 7 मुखरयति etc This idea is again repeated by the poet in the verse 10 of this poem. V. 8 वृत्रद्विपः—The enemy of the demon वृत्र, i. e. Indra. यपाति—See Vishnupurāna IV 10 and aMhbhārata Ādi, chap. 75 a celebrated king of the lunar race, son of Nahusha. V. 11 उदयगिरि—Rising mountain. It is also the name of the Himalaya. V. 13 संहस्र...वारण—It may be noted that elephants were the special strength of the army of the Andhras, the horses of the, Sūlikas and ships of the Gaudas. V. 23 पूर्वी—i. e. The *prastasti*. The expression occurs also in Nos. 5 and 13.

Translation.

V. 1. Victorious is Bhava (i. e. Śiva), the source of bliss, the destroyer of the demon Tripura; the soul of all beings, in whose heart the mind-born (Cupid) did not find room, though a woman (i. e. Pārvati) forms one half of his body; whom the ascetics, who have suppressed their passions and destroyed the mass of darkness (of ignorance), contemplate, and who is the cause of the Gods that bring about the manifestation, the destruction and the maintenance of the world. V. 2. May the body of the enemy of Andhaka (i. e. Śiva) grant you an eternal abode— (the body of Śiva) which has sparkling serpents on it which bears on the forehead the slender digit of the moon, which dispells darkness, which renders brown the shining row of skulls by the lustre proceeding from his eyes, and which wears a lion-skin redd-

ened by the lustre of the jewels on the hoods of serpents.

V. 3 The king Aśvapati got from Vaivasvita (Yama) one hundred sons, conspicuous by their virtues, from them were descended the Mukhārī princes, who vanquished their enemies and checked the cause of evil V 4 Among them king Harivarman was the first, born for the welfare of the earth, who became known by the name of Jvālāmukha (or, flame-faced), as he was honoured by the foes who were struck with terror when they saw his face reddened on account of the lustre of fire (i.e anger) at the time of battle and as his splendour destroyed the wealth of the enemy and his fame pervaded the intervals of (all) the quarters V 5 Whose name was worthy of being praised and whose lovely excellent fame filled the worlds, while he remained, for the perpetuation of the moral laws in the world, on the path of virtue and discrimination like Manu V. 6 Like the moon from the ocean, king Adityavarman was born from him, by getting whom the Creator obtained, as it were the (full) result of his laying down the regulations of right conduct for the four castes and stages of life V 7 When fire was kindled during his sacrificial performances the volume of smoke black like (pitch) darkness, rising on all sides and increased through the tossing and whirling produced by the wind in the sky, made the crowds of peacock noisy, as they mistook it for a large cloud

V. 8. For the attainment of martial glory he caused the birth of the king Iśvaravarman, whose soul was pure and who invoked Indra (the enemy of Vritra) in many a sacrifice. In the pursuit of virtue other kings with all their effort were not able to equal him, whose (pious) conduct had uprooted the character of the Kāli (age) and who possessed glory equal to that of Yayati V 9 Qualifying his high bravery with political wisdom, his friendship by straightforwardness his lofty ambition by his noble descent, his liberality by fit recipients, his greatness of wealth by modesty, his youth by self-restraint, his speeches by truthfulness, his

manner of life by the injunctions of the *Śruti*, and his high prosperity by humbleness, he never felt tired in the world, though it was immersed in the darkness of the Iron age. V. 10. At whose sacrifices, when the round of the quarters was overlaid with the smoke which arose from the fire kindled constantly in accordance with the cannons, and which was dark blue in appearance like streaks of collyrium, the multitude of peacocks became noisy, their minds becoming madened; by the mistaken idea that the rainy season, having a line of clouds bending low because of the weight of the fresh water, had set in. V. 11. As the sun (rises) from the top of Udaya mountain, as Indra is born from the Creator, as the beauteous Kaustubha jewel, having lovely lustre and excelling the rays of the moon, came out of the Milk Ocean, the illustrious king *Isānavarman* was born of him, being the firmer abode of greatness, maintainer of stability amongst the beings, and a resplendent moon in the sky of the circle of princes. V. 12. By whom, as by the rising sun, the world, which was sunk in the darkness of the Kali Age, where the paths of virtue were consequently obscured, was again set to work he being a benefactor of the world possessing majesty to eclipse the lustre of water-lilies in the form of the foes, illuminating the collection of lotus-like faces of his friends, and being possessed of abundant majestic splendour; V. 13. Who, being victorious and having princes bending at his feet occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the *Andhras*, who had thousands of three fold rutting, elephants, after vanquishing in battle the *Gūlikas*, who had an army of a large number of galloping horses, and after causing the *Gaudas*, living on the seashore, in future to remain within their proper realm; V. 14. The victorious one, whose watches can only be determined by means of the water-clock, as if it were at night, the world being encompassed in darkness and bewildered as to the beginning, the middle or the end of the day on account of the dust which rises from the earth rent asunder by the agitation caused by the marches of his ocean-like armies on their expeditions, screens the lustre of the orbit of the sun, and pervades the quarters: V. 15. By whom the earth was upheld by (his) feet like a broken boat

after fastening it on all sides by hundredfold virtues (or strings), when it was sinking below the invisible ocean of the nether regions, being shaken by the storms of Kali;

V. 16 Whose foes gave up their lives in the sacrifice of the battlefield, when hit by (lit haying got) his arrows loosened from the bow fully bent by his arms, which was hardened owing to the growth of the wounds caused by the blows of the bowstring. When this king was ruling the earth, the three Vedas were, so to speak, born afresh. From him the illustrious Sūryavarman was born, who dispelled the darkness originated in the Kali (Age).

V. 17 Who, possessing youth that is charming and dear to the entire world, like the new moon, and being calm and having his mind devoted to the study of the Sāstras attained the highest proficiency in fine arts; to whom wealth, fame, Learning and other (Muses) resort to, as if in emulation Loving women are in the world highly attached to a beloved lover. V. 18 So long virtuous conduct had forcibly to bow down before the Kali; so long the arrows of Cupid were capable of wounding the bodies of the fair sex, and so long did the goddess of wealth give up taking refuge with others, whereby she had to fear sudden breakdowns, as the Creator did not bring forth his body. pleasing to mankind.

V. 19. Who dragged forth by means of his arm, which was surrounded by the streak of lustre of his sparkling sword, the Riches of hostile lands, whose eyes began to reel by the force of fear of seizure of the breasts and closely pressed them to his bosom, as a lover (would press) his sweet-hearts whose minds he knew and caused them to give up the thought of taking recourse to other men.

V. 20. By him, who used to raise those that were low (or submissive) seeing, while he had gone on hunting, a

dilapidated temple of the slayer of Andhaka (i. e. Siva) it was raised according to his wish and made an ornament of the earth, resplendent like the moon and known by the name of Kshemes'vara (the Lord of bliss).

V. 21. When six hundred autumns increased by eleven had passed while the illustrious Is'avarman, who had crushed his enemies, was the lord of the earth.

V. 22. That temple of the trident wielder (Siva) shining like an empty cloud was (re-) constructed at the time when the clouds, having the lustre of the wild buffalo and having rain-bows stuck to their borders, stretch a canopy over the quarters, with shining and extensive lightnings, thundering deep and continuously and where the winds blow on all sides, shaking the Nipa trees; with their branches bent low on account of the multitude of new flowers. V. 23. Ravis'anti, the son of Krimas'anti resident of Garggarakata, composed the preceding [*prasti*] out of regard for the king.

It was engraved by Mihiravarma.

No. 9.

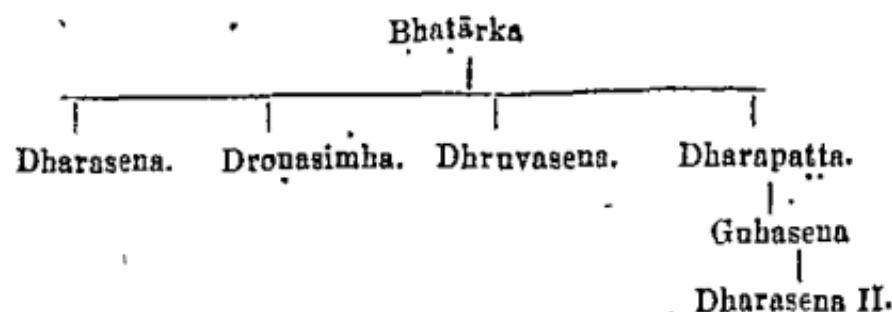
Valabhi Copperplate Inscription of Dharasena II

General Remarks—This inscription is incised on two copper-plates, which were discovered forty years back in the ruins of Vali, 18 miles north-west of Bhavnagar in Kathiawad. It is not known where the two plates have been preserved at present. They were published by Dr. Bohler in the Indian Antiquary Vol. VI p. 9. Each of the two plates measures 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and contains 16 lines of writing.

The contents of the inscription are as follows—

At first the name of the military camp, Bhadrapattana given from which the grant was issued.

Then the genealogy of the grantor king Dharasena who was born in the Maitraka family is given thus—



The officials who were addressed at the time of making the grant for its proper enjoyment are thus mentioned. *Ayuktaka, Drāngika, Mahattara, Chāta, Bhaia, S'aulkika, Dhruvādhikaranika, Viśhayapati, Rājasthānīya, Uparika, Kumārāmātya, and Hastyas'vāroha.*

The beneficiary is the Buddhist monastery called Bappapādiya Vihāra situated in Valabhī and built by the Achārya Bhadanta Sthiramatī.

The purpose for which the grant was issued is to provide for the expenses of the articles of worship of the divine Buddhas in the monastery and of the lodging, boarding etc, of the Bhikshus in it and of the necessary repairs of the monastery.

The property granted to meet the expenses consisted of two villages—one called Mahes'varadāsenakagrāma in the Hastavapra district (Āharanī) and the other called Devabhadrīpattikā, in the Dhārākheta district (sthali).

The privileges appertaining to the enjoyment of the property were *Udranga*, *Uparikara*, *Vātabhūlapratiyāya*, *Dhānyabhogabhangahiranyādeya*, *Utpadyamānarichtika*, *Dāsāparādhā*, and freedom from the encroachment of the state officials.

In the latter part of the inscription imprecatory passages in prose and poetry are quoted.

In the concluding portion are given (1) the sign-manual of the grantor king Dharasena, (2) the name of the Dūtaka, or executive officer of the grant as *Sāmanīa Silāditya* (3) the name of the officer who supervised the writing of the grant as *sandhitigrāhādhikaranādhikrita dīrapati*, *Skandabhata*, and lastly (4) the date of the grant as Sam' 269 Chaitra Ba. 5.

Historical importance. The Maitraka family to which king Dharasena II the donor of the present grant belonged ruled at Valabhi from about 470 to 770 A. D. Bhatarka was the founder. He was probably a general of the Gupta emperor, Shandagupta, but seeing the weak condition of the Gupta empire, after the death of Skandagupta, he founded a dynasty at Valabhi, only nominally acknowledging the sovereignty of the Gupta emperor. His successors seem to have continued their allegiance to the Gupta sovereign and Dronasimha, as our inscription states took pride in being appointed to the kingdom by the sovereign lord probably Bhanugupta himself. After Dharasena II of this inscription twelve more kings ruled in the line. Dhravasena II who ruled from about 625 to 642 A. D. was defeated by the emperor Harshavardhana of Kanauj and was given his daughter in marriage. His son Dharasena IV who ruled from about 642 to 650 A. D possessed imperial titles and was undoubtedly the greatest king in the line. The

Valabhi kings in the height of their power seem to have held the whole of the Kathiawad peninsula except its western-most and northern most part, the portion of Gujerat from Vadangar in the north to Broach in the south and also a part of the western Malva as far as Ratlam. It is not known how and when the family came to an end, but it seems most probable that the Arabs had invaded Valabhi from Sindh in about A D 770 destroyed it completely and put an end to the family. The last ruler of the family was Siliditya VII. About 87 copperplates have been so far discovered which are practically the only source of our knowledge of the family.

The date of the Inscription-The grants of the Valabhi kings are all dated in what is known as the Gupta Valabhi era beginning with 318-19 A.D. This inscription dated in [Valabh] Samvat 269 can, therefore, be assigned to 558 A.D. (See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p 31)

Poetical importance The language used in this copperplate inscription is as may be seen extremely artificial and is devoid of really poetic or descriptive skill. This style of writing Sanskrit prose, containing long compounds, which was carried to its height of excellence by Bāna seems to have been common not only in upper India but almost in all parts of India during the period of this inscription and in later periods. The poets of the time seem to have considered it the best way of showing their mastery over the language by using as long compounds as possible. Hence the author of our inscription or rather of the original draft which was literally copied in subsequent inscriptions ~~endeavours~~ to ~~endeavours~~ to ~~endeavours~~ of mere verbose description and figures ~~endeavours~~ is ~~endeavours~~ flown Sanskrit

Notes- विज्ञयस्कन्धायारात्र - २६०० - २६०० विज्ञय

Most of the grants of Valohti L. Ziegert were signed from 1871 to 1875.

which was their capital but there are some which were issued from a military camp. भद्रपत्न-यासकात्—The place Bhadrapatna can be identified with modern Bhadrod, four miles north-east of Mahuva in Kathiawad. यिस्य.....यासकात्—The proper content is मात्रां श्व परेनः मात्रां ददेन in the middle of p. 30. The intervening genealogy is by way of a parenthesis. प्रसम्प्रणताददध्यताप—Dr. Fleet (Gupta Inscriptions) and some other scholars once took the Maitrakas to be the opponents of the Valabhi kings. But Hultzsch (Ep. Ind. Vol. III p. 320) on the basis of the reading मात्रा which is found in all earlier grants instead of the reading मात्रन evidently a clerical error which is found in later grants construes मित्रकानां (दद)=ददक्षु with (अमर्त) मात्रकः. The reading मात्रन finally disposes of the possibility of construing the word मित्रकानां with the following compound and forces us to connect the word with the verb अमर्त which is omitted but must be supplied to complete the sentence. Whether we paraphrase the passage by मित्रकानां (i. e. मेयकानु) भद्रकोऽमर्त् or suppose the word ददे after मित्रकानां it is now evident that Bhatarka himself belonged to the family or tribe of the Maitrakas. Unfortunately nothing is known of this tribe. About the genitive use of Maitrakānām compare Bhārasivānām and Vākātakānām in the Chāmaka grant (F. G. I., No 55) l. 8 भौलभूत etc.—This passage is severally translated by scholars. Fleet in his Gupta Inscriptions (p. 167) translates the phrase as follows; 'who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants and friends. Kielhorn's translation (Ep. Ind. I, 89) runs thus:—' who had acquired the splendour of royalty by his devoted army (which consisted) of hereditary servants, hired soldiers and men employed in posts. Hultzsch thus translates it (Ep. Ind. III. 322) ' who acquired the glory of royalty by the strength of a devoted body of hereditary

servants, hired soldiers and friends' Stenkonow has again offered the following translation (Ep. Ind XI 108) who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants and friends. But N. G. Majumdar (Ind Ant. 1919 p. 207) offers the following translation, which seems to be the correct one, in the light of the Mahābhārata and Arthas'āstra: who acquired the goddess of royalty (i. e. the kingdom) through the army (consisting of) hereditary, mercenary, allied and guild soldiers of Mahābhārata.

आदधीत थलं राजा मौलं मित्रवलं तथा ।
अटषीवलं भृतं चैव तथा श्रेणिवलं ग्रभो ॥

and Kautilya's Arthas'āstra —

स मौलभृतश्रेणीमित्रापित्रादवीवलानां etc. p. 140. .

This epithet of Bhatārka, the founder of the family indicates that he was born in a kingly family and had followers who were servants of the state for many generations (मौल). (See *History of mediaeval Hindu India* Vol. I p. 245.L.) 10. परमस्वाभिना.....राज्याभिषेक—Dronasimha took special pride in having his anointment to the Valabhi kingdom performed personally by the paramount sovereign. Unfortunately no where is the name of this imperial lord mentioned. He was probably the Gupta emperor Budhagupta or, as Mr. K. G. Sankar suggests, Bhānugupta to whose reign Dronasimha's date 183 suits.

L. 21, स कलस्मृतिः... राजशाश्वदो—This reminds us of the style of Kālidāsa. With प्रजा...शाश्वदः cf. राजा प्रजारक्षनलःपदानः Raghu VI 218. p. 30, l. 3 पादन्वारीव—lit. 'moving on legs, i. e. personified as it were' cf. प्रकृष्टस्येव पर्मस्य प्रसादो मूलिसंचरः Uttarārāmaccharita VI 10. आभिगामिकैः युजैः lit. 'inviting virtuous qualities'. They are as explained in Kāmandakas' Nītiśāra (IV. VV. 6)

good birth, steadfastness in misfortune and prosperity, youth, a good disposition, civility, absence of dilatoriness, speech that is not contradictory, truthfulness, reverence for the aged, gratitude, the state of being favoured by destiny, wisdom, being independent of trifles, capability of subduing hostile neighbouring chiefs, firmness in attachment, foresight, energy, purity, having great aims, modesty, and firm devotion to religion and justice (F. G. I. P. 169 n. 2).

परिमोग- '(skilful in) the enjoyment of'. In some Vai-
bhi grants the reading परिमोग instead of परिमोग in used. There
the translation would be 'skilful in causing annoyance to'.
L. 11, आयुक्तक etc —These are technical official terms.
Even with so much progress in Indian epigraphy the meaning
of these and many other technical terms found usually
in copperplates of this dynasty and of others is not certain.
An attempt is however made below to find out their
meaning. **आयुक्तक-** According to Prof. Bhadkamkar (Ep. Ind.
XI, 175) the word appears to be very old found in Pānini
II. 3.40, where it signifies a person appointed to some
small work of a special character, and from the nature
of the example given in the *Kaumudi* to illustrate the rule,
it seems probable that these may be Brāhmaṇas employed
for religious or charitable purposes, such as the pñāris
or the worshippers at temples or the āśrītas. **विनियुक्तक-**
According to Prof. Bhadkamkar (*ibid* p. 176) he may
be the officer in charge of the village as pātil (the headman),
Kulkarti (the clerk of the village) or some such village
officer. **प्रांतिक-** The word प्रांत means 'frontier outpost' and
'drāṅgika' may, therefore, denote an officer in charge of a
frontier outpost 'a warden of the marches'. **महत्तर-** A man
of special respectability in a place such as the heads of parti-
cular communities.

चाट- Dr. Buhler (Ind. Ant. IV, 105) thinks that it
probably means 'fortune-teller.' Prof. Bhadkamkar (op. cit

p 176) says that Yājñavalkya speaks of chāṭas alone with thieves etc as men who are likely to be injurious to the public. In मृत्युर्गतिक V, the friend of the hero remarks in Pkt 'even dogs won't go to a place where the chāṭas, cow-keepers etc reside. The similarity in sound with chāṭu 'flattery' which this word presents is so close as to lead one to translate the word by 'flatterer,' and the word may in that case denote the attendants of the king who are very likely to misuse their position by being harmful to others. Or they may be the servants whose duty is to sing the praises of the king and his forefathers. According to Prof K B Pithaka (Ep Ind IX 296) the expression अनाममटप्रावेश्य means not to be encroached upon by rogues and servants who tell lie. The expression has also been taken to mean, 'not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers' which is probably the best possible interpretation of that phrase. When an army was passing, the soldiery used to exact all kinds of dues from the owners of lands lying on their route. In the present enumeration of officers चाट & मट must be considered as petty officers of the regular & irregular army.' भट- 'a soldier' Prof Bhad Lamkai thinks that the word is perhaps connected with Bhāṭa—the herald attendant on a king, whose duty is to sing his praises.

शौलिकक- This title might be rendered by some such term as Superintendent of tolls or customs (शौलिक) (Fleet)

यिष्यपति—The officer over a राज्य or territorial division probably corresponding to the present Subah or collector, राजस्थानीय- lit 'One who belongs to a Raja's thāna or king's abode or perhaps 'one who occupies the position of a Raja' is a technical official title, the exact grade of which remains to be determined. The explanation of the word in Kshemendra's *Lokapralas* i.e. अनाधारनाथ उद्दहति

रक्षयति च स राजस्थानोऽयः i. e. a state officer over a district or province (*F. G. I. P.*) Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji means by it ' the foreign secretary, the officer who had to do with other states and kingdoms (Rājasthāna). (*Bcm. Gaz.* Vol. I Pt. I, P. 82). उपरिकृ-Probably a survey officer.

कुमारामात्य- Prof. Bhadkamkar thinks that the word denotes the princes of the royal blood who formed a council and were consulted by the ruling chiefs on points of imperial importance. But it is better to suppose that it means a counsellor of the prince. He had probably to act as a guardian or companion of the prince.

I. 16, वलभ्यां- Valabhi was the capital of the Maitraka kings, which is to be identified with the modern town Valā where the plates were found. Col. Tod was the first man to suggest this identification. (See Ind. Ant. 1925 Sept. App. p. 89; *J B B R A. S.* Vol. I (N. S. p. 15). Hinen Tsiang, who visited the place in about 643 A. D. gives a very glowing description of the prosperity of the town. It was a famous centre of Buddhism and possessed a number of Buddhist monasteries. I—tsing, a junior contemporary of Hinen Tsiang tells us that in his time Nālandā in Bihar and Valabhi were the two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China and were frequented by crowds of eager students. Valabhi was completely destroyed in about 770 A. D. by the Arab invaders. **भद्रन्त-** It was an epithet used with Buddhist (sometimes with Jain) Achāryas. **स्थिरमति-** Gunnamati, who lived early in the sixth century and Sthiramati late in the same century were very great Buddhist scholars who lived in Valabhi. Their fame had reached as far as China.

श्रीयप्पपादोयविद्यार- lit. (Buddhist) monastery of the

feet of Bappa The word Bappa seems to be used here as a proper name though in Valabhi plates it is generally used to denote the relation between father and son *Ind Ant* (1886 p 276) The monastery might have been built by a Valabhi king and since a king was and even now is addressed by the name Bappa modern Bipa in Kathiawad the monastery may have been so named भगवतां वृद्धाना-etc This expression shows that Buddha was then looked upon as an actual deity to be worshipped through the medium of an image

हस्तवप्राहरण्यां-In the abhan of Hastavapni अहानि or abha is the territorial term corresponding to the modern 'district' very often used in Valabhi plates Hastavapra corresponds to the modern village Hāthab six miles south of Gogha in the Bhavnagar State *Ind Ant* VII p 54, L IV, Dec App p 49

महेश्वरदासेनकग्राम-It is probably the modern village Mahadevapni, at a short distance to the south-west of Hathab

धाराखेश्वयद्या-*Sthali* is the territorial division probably equivalent to modern Taluka Dharakheta may be modern Dhan a mahal-town of the Gaikwad's territory in Kathiawad **देवभद्रिपलिका**-This village cannot be identified

उद्गङ्ग उपरिकर-etc These are technical fiscal terms the exact meaning of which is not certain Their interpretations by various scholars are given below

उद्गङ्ग-According to Dr Bahler (*Ind Ant* XI 189 n 39) it is probably equivalent to उदार and उद्यय and means 'The share of the produce collected usually for the king According to Prof Bhadkamkar (op cit p 176) it is synonymous with *Dranga* (a town) and the expression सोद्गङ्ग means 'together with the hamlets'

उपरिकर-Fleet (F. G. I. p. 98 n. 1) thinks that it denotes 'a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietary rights in the soil. According to Prof. Bhadkamkar it possibly means the appurtenances as timber, trees etc standing on the land. Dr. Buhler and Fleet suggest that all the attributes signify different sorts of land and other revenue. In that case this adjective सोपरिकर means 'together with municipal taxes levied on tradesmen etc. for the management of the town,' in accordance with Manu VII. 137. But since all such dues accruing from the village are mentioned by the adjective सधान्यहिरण्यादेय it seems preferable to take the first three adjectives as referring to the description of the gift.

वातमूलप्रत्याय-According to Dr. Buhler (I. A. IV. p. 166) vāta means in a technical sense dry grass and wood. The expression means certain dues from village. According to Prof. Bhadkamkar (Ep. Ind XI. 177.) it means, 'as determined by wind and other marks of the limits of a place.' This word is actually used in the Narmadāmāhātmya to signify the extent of the region on either bank as belonging to the Nāmadā, where the distinctive breeze from the river is recognised. The boundary marks are, broadly speaking, described: viz. (1) huge trees or mountains; (2) rivers or tanks, (3) underground signs, (4) artificial marks made by men, and (5) by the order of the king. It is to all these that this adjective refers. धान्यभागभोगहिरण्यादेय- A share from the produce of corn and the revenues in gold.

उत्पदमानविष्टिक-Probably the privilege of demanding forced labour (Vishti, modern Veta), as prescribed by Manu VII.138 दशापराष्ट- The ten faults or sins. हिंसा स्तेवान्धाकामं पैशुन्यं परणान्ते । संभिन्नालापब्यापादमनिध्या दृग्विपर्ययं as stated in Vāgbhāṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛidaya* and in *Dharmasindhusāra* of Kāśinath-

opadhyāya. See *F-G-I* p 189 n 4 The meaning of the expression is that the grantees were given the right to the proceeds of fines imposed for the commission of these (or similar) wrongful actions in the limits of their villages

समस्तराजकीयानं अहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय i.e with the privilege of not being interfered with by any of the king's people In some grants of old times the wording is राजकायानम् नयुलिप्रेक्षणीय (*F-G I* p 171 n. 1)

L 23, भूमिच्छुद्धन्यायेन According to Dr R G Bhandarkar (*Ind Ant I*, 46) this expression may have some reference to the circumstance that holes in the earth are not permanent but are filled up in the course of time This is shown from the story that Indra transferred the sin he incurred by killing Vis'varūpa, the son of Tvashtīa, among other objects and persons to the earth and in consideration of her having taken it gave her a boon that all holes made in her would be filled up in time The sense of the expression then is that a grant is to survive all revolutions etc and last unchanged forever, as the holes in the earth are filled up in time and the earth is whole again According to Dr Buhler (*Ind Ant IV* 106 n) the expression means 'the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and the cleft or clefts therein, ' or the inference that the whole includes the parts, just as a piece of land includes the various clefts therein If it is stated that a village or the like is given मुमि॒ ति॒ it means simply that it is made over with all its appurtenances, produce, rights etc Prof. Bhandarkar (*Ep Ind. XI* 177) however suggest that the word reserves the right of the grantor to the mineral resources and treasure-trove etc The right of the king to the e is always urged against a gift (See *Ananda Ramayana*, *Sarakanda* III 264 यद्युप्य वर्तते वित्त तन्युपस्य न सशय), unless it is expressly transferred The

the traditional laws (i. e. *smritis*); who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom and wealth, surpassed (respectively) (the god) Svāra, (i. e. cupid), the moon, the king of mountains (i. e. Himalaya), the ocean, the preceptor of the gods (i. e. Brihaspati) and Dhāneśā (i. e. Kubera); who through being intent upon giving freedom from fear to those who came for protection, disregarded all the fruit of his action as if it were a straw; (and) who was as it were the personified joy of the circumference of the whole earth.

P. 30 15 His son, whose sins have been all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jānbāvi which was flowing (as it were) from the diffusion of the rays of the nails of his feet; whose enjoyments and wealth consisted of the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who is resorted to, as if from a desire for his bea'ny, by the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind (?); who has astonished all archers by (his) innate strength and special training, who is the preserver of religious giants bestowed by former kings; who averts calamities that would afflict (his) subjects, who is the exponent of (the condition of being) the one (joint) habitation of wealth and learning; whose valour is skilful in the enjoyment of the goddess of fortune of the compact ranks of (his) enemies; (and), who possesses a spotless princely glory, acquired by valour—the illustrious mahāsāmanta Mahārāja (Dharasena) (II) a most devout worshipper of Mahes'vara, being in good health, issues a command to all his own (officers) Ayuk-taka, Drāngika, Mahattāra, Chāta, Bhata, Sānukika, Dhru-vādhikarāṇika, Vishayapati, Rājasthāniya, Uparika, Kuru-rāmātya, Hastiyas'vārōhas and others, according as they are concerned—

L 15 " Be it known to you, that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (my) parents, and for our own attainment of the desired reward in this world and in the next world-these are given by me, with libations of water in accordance with the rule of *bhūmichchhidra*, as gifts and to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, and the earth, two villages—(one) *Mahes'varadāsenaka* in the *Āharanī* of *Hastavapra*, and (the other) *Devabhadripallikā* in the *Sthali* of *Dhārākhetā*-accompanied by (the privileges of) *Udranga*, *Uparikara*, *vātabhūtapratyāya*, *Dhānyabhāgabhoga*, *hiran̄yādeya*, *Utpadyamānavistika*, *Das'āparadha* and by the privilege that it is) not to be meddled with by any of the king's people, for the purpose of providing for the articles-flowers, incense, sandal-wood paste, light and oil and others-(of the worship) of the divine Buddhas, in the monastery of the venerable *Bappa* built by *Āchārya Bhadanta Sthiramati* in *Valabhi*, and for providing clothing, food, lodging and medicine in sickness of the *Sangha* of the venerable *Bhikshus*, come from various quarters, and for the purpose of repairing the broken portions of the monastery.

L 24. Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to the villages in enjoying it, cultivating it, censuring it to be cultivated or assigning it (to another) in accordance with the proper coconditions of a grant to the good or the monastery. p 31, l. 1 And this our gift should be assented to and preserved by future good kings, born in our lineage or by others, bearing in mind that riches does not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (both to him who makes it and to him who continues it). And he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great

sins, together with the minor sins, who may confiscate this (grant), or assent to its confiscation. And it has been said by 'the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas :-

V. 1 The givves of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant) and he who assents (to) an act of confiscation, shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! V. 2 The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it) ! V. 3 Those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in the hollows of dried-up trees in forests destitute of water. V. 4 He who confiscates land granted by himself or by others incurs the sin of a killer of a hundred thousand cows. V. 5 The chattels, which have been made here into altars of religion by (previous) kings through fear of poverty, (are) like the remains of offerings (to gods and like food that is vomited; verily, what good man would take them back again ! V. 6 Who indeed having attained to the desirable riches of a king, the (very) abode of the goddess of wealth, through having to which (merit) (will leave it). You should increase those very merit; (by which you have attained kingdom) the beneficial course is indeed, not to be abandoned.

This is the sign-manual of me, the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dharaśena. The Dūtaka is Sāmanta Siśāditya (This charter) has been written by Skandabhata the minister of peace and war and the chief secretary. The second day of the dark half of Chaitra of the year 269.

No. 10.

Camboja Stone Inscription of the son of Bhavavarman.

General Remarks—This inscription was found at Han chey on the right side of the Mekhong river in Cambodia. It was first published by H. Kern in *Annales de l'Entreme Orient* jan. 1882, then by A Barth in *Journal Asiatique* 1882, 1883, and lastly by A Barth again in the collection of Cambodge Inscriptions. The inscribed portion measures 2' 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 2' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and contains 35 verses in 35 lines.

The record opens with an invocation of god S'iva. From the second to the sixteenth verse a king named Bhavavarman is praised. From v. 17 to 21 his son, whose name is not recorded, is praised. From v. 22 to 32 his feudatory chieftain whose name also is not given but who is said to be ruling at Ugrapura is described. He built a temple of S'iva under the name of Bhadres'vara.

The record does not give any historical information of the family to which Bhavavarman or the King of Ugrapura who set up the S'iva temple belonged. It is only stated that Bhavavarman belonged to the lunar race. So also no date is recorded of the inscription, though on paleographical grounds we can assign it to the beginning of the seventh century A. D.

Bhavavarman, as Dr. R. C. Mazumdar of the Dacca University kindly informs me, freed Cambodge from the yoke of Fou-lan and united its two parts and thus laid the foundation of its greatness. He extended the boundaries of his kingdom as far as Daugrek and conquered many savage peoples of the border. It has been suggested that he is

referred to in the "Vishṇu Purāṇa as 'king' Bhavya of Śakadvipa.

The poetry of the inscription is certainly of a high order. The name of the poet is not known but he seems to be a really gifted man. He seems to have studied the works of Kālidāsa and imitates him in a number of verses. The last half of the sixth verse at once reminds us of the verse 49 in the fourth canto of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamsa*. Similarly the seventh verse of the inscription is an echo of the verse 54 in the same canto of the *Raghuvamsa*. The poet is fond of using puns. cf. अपृष्ठमहासत्त्व v. 2; निदानप्यःसिज्जकरान् v. 5; v. 6; कला v. 15; राग v. 18.

This inscription clearly shows that Sanskrit poetry was highly cultivated in such a remote colony of the ancient Hindus as the Cambodia.

The one metre used in the record in Sloka (*Anushṭubh*).

Notes—V. 1 The jealousy between Gangā and Umā, the cowives of Śiva is frequently described by Sanskrit poets.

V. 2 अपृष्ठ्य and गहासत्त्व are to be taken in two senses with reference to the king and the mountain Meru. So also the words दान and कर in V. 5 V. 12 cf. As'oka's relinquishing conquest by force for conquest by Dharma. V. 15 The word कला is to be taken in two senses—digit and art. V. 18 Supply the words चूडारत्न before मरीचयः and read पादन्त्येष्वेव, मनागपि न चेतासि after यस्य. V. 20 Read the verse as—

तमोविश्वातविक्षोभमवापदुदयं रविः ।
यस्तु शान्तमनावाधमलब्द्य श्रितिमण्डलम् ॥

V. 22 Read the second pāda thus—

विश्रमदानसन्मानैयोर्यो यः पर्यतप्यत ॥

V. 23 Read the verse as—

शन्तधिश्वामलच्छश्रमूष्ठकाशनं बुद्धम् ॥

याने सुवर्णरथितं इस्युपारिवर्णम् ॥

V. 25 Supply यापि after वर्णं. Read यजः after यो

V. 29 Read प्रीणवन्मुरासीनान् एव V. 32 Nothing is known of the town Ugrapura.

Translation.

V. 1 Victorious is God S'iva (who wears the moon as an ornament), who bears on his head the Ganges, whose waves had become curved because of the frowning of Umā and which is white like the garland of... V. 2 There was an illustrious king named Bhavavaram, lord of kings, who being difficult to be offended and yet high—souled was as it were another Meru which is difficult of access and contains large (wild) beasts. V. 3 Whose valour, being born in the Soma lineage as Soma (moon) is born in the sea, somehow became resplendent in good battles as the lustre of the moon does in the sea. V. 4 When he had kept under subjection the six internal enemies, which are difficult to be subdued and which because of their having no bodily forms are outside the scope of senses, it is redundant to speak of (his conquest of) the external enemies. V. 5 He kept for war elephants, whose trunks were wet by the constant rutting and who (thns) resembled him, as his hands were always wet with the water used while making gifts.

V. 6 His valour was unbearable to the enemies as he went out (for war) after the autumn and overcame the enemies. Not so unbearable is the lustre even of the sun shining after the autumn with its great lustre unenveloped (by clouds). V. 7 The dust (raised) by his army when wiped by the women of the enemies assumed the appearance of powder applied to their cheeks though they had given up (using) toilets. V. 8. The water in the ditches

around (enemy's) city was dried up like the mind of the enemy being drunk... V. 9. By whose lustre, resplendent (as it was) the ramparts of the (enemy's) city, although (once) burnt, had, as it were, a repetition of the action of fire. V. 10. Having conquered the mountain kings he extended (his) country so as to reach the shores; thereby he stretched, as it were, the quarters by the collection of his good qualities and by his fame (sung) by the bards. V. 11. The transgressed the limits (of the kingdoms) of the families of enemies to this extent that the limits of their kingdoms were transgressed by his valorous deeds. V. 12. The earth girdled with the ocean, which he had once conquered by force was reconquered by him through his (quality of) forgiveness, when he was overlord. V. 13. Attracted by his greatness, others, though unconquered in battle bow to his lotus feet, presenting their royal glory. V. 14. Thinking that this whole earth was not conquered before by another he is not satisfied without conquering the earth, extending as far as the oceans. V. 15. By obtaining sixteen digits (*kalas*) the moon attains perfection. But he is never puffed up even by acquiring numberless arts (*kalas*). V. 16. It is the maxim of the wise that no body possesses all the qualities. But he has shown this to be wrong without speaking anything. V. 17. The great king had a son like the new moon who pleased the people by the possession of (good) qualities, beauty of form and other acquisitions. V. 18. The rays of the jewels in the crests of other kings get coloured (*rāga*=colour) (by being reflected) in the nails of (his) feet (i.e. the course of bowing) but there is no anger (*rāga*=anger) in the least in his mind. V. 19. When the king had gone to the abode of Siva (i.e. died) and when he had risen (to the power of the kingdom) the people dropped tears filled simultaneously with grief and joy (the former for the death of the former king, the latter for the accession of the new king) V. 20. The

sun rises (lit. gets rise) after the agitation caused by the destruction of darkness. But he got the circle of the earth peacefully and without any hindrance. V. 21. When he was prepared to take the burden of the kingdom (upon himself) in a young age it seemed as if Kumāra (Siva's son) had taken the generalship of the gods. V. 22. There was a servant of the two kings, who was (found) pure through temptations * who, being a fit man was pleased (by them) by honours, gifts and taking him into confidence. V. 23-24. He got through the favour of both the masters a carriage made of gold having an umbrella which was clean and the inside of which was variegated and the high top of which was made of gold and which was propelled by elephants and horses; he also got much wealth consisting of golden pots and other things V. 25 He never got any thing which was not enjoyed by his masters-food or garments, a ring or ornaments. V. 26 He desired to purchase the glory, high and lasting, for the cause of his masters by his life, insignificant and low and brought up by the morsels of his father. V. 27 Though closely embraced by Lakshmi (i. e. Fortune) he being full of forgiveness and tranquility leads the life of sages on the strength of his former practice. V. 28 Though he had exhibited bravery in battle and renunciation his cowardliness for dishonour and humility was well known. V. 29 By even pleasing those that are indifferent and showing anger towards those that are enemical he made both the parties accept his friendship because of his wealth of (good) qualities. V. 30 Dharma having one of his feet broken by the powerful Kali resorted to him as to a big pillar and (thus) stood firm as if he had four feet. V. 31 He disregarded the wealth of his body as it was not lasting but he considered it most which was full of glory

* (See अर्थशास्त्र for various उपाय s or temptations laid in the way of a minister to test him.)

and merits as it was steady. V. 32 The lord of Ugrapura through great, devotion founded here this *linga* of S'iva (lit Is'vara) under the name of S'rī Bhadresvara. V. 33 The sages who worship the god should have authority over all the slaves, cows (or rather cattle), fields, gold and other granted money. V. 34 The brothers, sons, and even the relatives of the donor should not violate the grant of the god and should not exercise authority over it. V. 35 The people who wish to seize what has been granted by the donor with devotion towards this god, will go to hell for a long time.

No. 11

Bānskherā Copperplate Inscription of Harsha

General Remarks-This inscription is engraved in beautiful letters on a single copperplate measuring about 19' by 13' and containing 18 lines of writing. An oval-shaped seal soldered on to the plate bears an inscription, but it is too worn to be legible. The plate was discovered in the village Bānskherā about 25 miles from Shahājahānpur in U. P. in 1894 and is now preserved in the Provincial Museum Lucknow. The inscription was edited by Dr. G. Babler in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IV p. 208.

The charter contained in the copperplate was issued from the military camp at Vardhamānakoti by the emperor Harsha, whose ancestry is thus recorded.

Mahārāja Naravardhana=Vajrinīdevī.

„ Rjāyavardhana=Apsarodevī.

„ Adityavardhana=Mahāsenagnipādevī.

Mahārājādhitāja Prabhākaravardhana=Yas'omati-devī.

„ Rājyavardhana II.

Harshavardhana (younger brother of
Rājya°)

The first three kings bear the epithet *Mahārāja* only; but the last three bear the imperial titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhīrūja*. The first king does not, bear any religious epithet. The next three are called *paramādityabhaktas* i. e. great devotees of the sun. Rājyavardhāne calls himself a great devotee of Sugata i. e. Buddha, while Harshavardhana calls himself a great devotee of Maheśvara.

The copperplate was addressed by Harsha to his officers named below. महासामन्त, महाराज, दीर्घसाध, साधनिक, प्रमातृ, राजस्थानीय, कुमारामात्य, उपरिक, विषयपति, भट्ट, चाट, सेवक, and प्रतिवासिङ्गनपद.

The beneficiaries were two Brāhmaṇas of Bhāradvāja *gotra*-Bālachandra, a Rigvedin, and Bhadra svāmin, a Sāma-vedin. The property granted to them by this charter consisted of a village named Markatasūgara in the western *pathaka*, of the Angadīya *Vishaya*, included in the Alīchchhatī bhukti. The Dūtaka was skandagupta who bore the titles *Mahāpramātā* and *mahāsāmanta*, while the officer who supervised the engraving of the grant was *mahāsāmanta mahārāja Bhānn*, who was a keeper of the records. The plate was engraved by Is'vara. The date of the grant was the first day of the dark half of Kārtika of [Harsha-] samvat 22, which is equivalent to 628 A. D.

The last line of the record consists of the sign-manuel of the king written in elaborately ornamented characters, about three times larger than those of the body of the grant showing that King Harsha must have been a highly accomplished penman if at least, they reproduce the King's handwriting. (V. A. Smith's *Early History of India* IIIrd ed. p. 316).

Historical importance of the inscription—Of the emperor Harsha of Kanauj four inscriptions are so far discovered: the present one, the Madhuban copperplate inscription of [H.] S. 25 published in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 67 the undated Sonapat seal inscription, published in *F. G. I.* p. 232 and the Nalanda seal published in *Archl Survey Eastern Circle: Report for 1917-18*. The same genealogy of Harsha, as is given in our inscription is found in the others. The contents of this inscription except for the beneficiary and the property granted are identical with those of the Madhuban inscription which was issued three years afterwards.

The year 22 given in the record must be that of the era said to have been instituted by Harsha which began with the year 606 or 607 A D when Harsha ascended the throne.

Poetical value of the inscription—Except a verse in the middle and two imprecatory verses at the end the whole of the inscription is in prose. As is very often the case with inscriptions on copperplates the author of the present copperplate inscription is not known. As was inevitable he has imitated the artificial style of writing Sanskrit prose, containing long compounds, which was carried to its height of excellence by Bāṇi with whom the author must have been not only a contemporary but also a fellow-courtier at the court of the emperor, Harsha. The language of this inscription is decidedly better than that of the Valabhi copperplate inscription (No. 9 above). The wording of the two admiring verses at the end proves that Harsha was really a poet. In l. 7 the poet calls Prabhākaravardhan as परमादित्यभर्तु and wants to compare him with भूदित्य but the word for भादित्य which he uses is पक्षचक्ररथ so that there would be an alliteration of the word चक्र in प्रभूत्तचक्र and पक्षचक्ररथः. In other cases also he compares the king with the deity he

ieha Chhāndoga s'ākha. Knowing this you should agree to this and the inhabitants with due obedience of (our) command should hand over to these two (brāhmaṇas) the dues derived in the usual way from the weighing, surveying, shares, the taxes on the enjoyment and gold etc. They should moreover serve and honour them.

This gift should be assented to by those who follow the noble course of our family and also by others. Charity and the protection of the glory of others (is the) reward of the goddess of wealth, fickle like the lightning or the bubble in water. Men (lit. creatures) should do what is beneficial by actions, by mind, and by speech. This unequalled (way of) the acquisition of Dharma is related by Harsha.

The Dūtaka here (is) *Mahāpramātā, Mahāsāmanta*, Skandagupta. (This) is engraved by īvara by order of *Mahākshapatalādhikrita Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Bhānu*. The first day of the dark half of Kārtika of Sam. 22. (This is) the *sign manual* of me, the illustrious *Mahārājādhīrāja Harsha*.

No 12.

Aihole Stone Inscription of Pulakeshin II

General Remarks—This very valuable inscription is engraved on a stone slab built in an old temple called Vēgutī at Aihole in the Hungud taluk of the Bijapur district in the Bombay residency. It was twice edited by Dr Fleet in *Ind Ant.* V 67 and VIII 237. Its revised edition is published by Dr Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indiae* Vol VI pp 1 ff. The inscription contains 19 lines of writing.

The contents of the inscription can be divided into the following sections —

- 1 *Mangala* addressed to Jinendra the presiding deity of the temple v 1
- 2 Description of the *Chālukya* family in which the patron of the temple-builder was born v. 2
- 3 That of king Satyāśraya born in that family who was the patron of the temple builder v 3
- 4 In the *Chālukya* family a king named Jayasimha Vallabha was born after many generations vv 4-5
- 5 His son was Ranaraga v 6
- 6 His son was Pulakesi who made Vatapi his capital — vv 7-8
- 7 His son was Kirtivarman who conquered Nalas Mauryas and Kadambas vv. 9-10
- 8 His younger brother was Mangalesa who conquered the *Kolachalas* and seized the island named Revati dvipa vo 11-13
- 9 Long description of his nephew Pulakesin II vv 14-31.

i He forcibly seized the throne vv. 14-16

ii He defeated Appayika and persuaded Govinda

territory north of the river Bhajmarathi (modern Bhima). The former king was defeated and the latter was made an ally. Nothing definite is known of these kings.

Pulikesin is next said in the inscription to have seized the fort of Vanavasi on the bank of the Varada river. Vanavasi which is in the North Kanara district of the Bembay Presidency was the capital of the Kadambas and the Kadamba king who was defeated by Pulikesin was probably Vishnuvarman, son of Bhogivarman (Dubreuil p 95). The kings of the Gangas and Alupa families were subdued. The Gangas were rulers of Gangatadi comprising the larger part of modern Mysore State having their capital at Talkad (*Proc Madras Ori Conf* p. 297) also *Ehanda Kar Comm Vol* p 237). The Ganga king defeated by Pulikesin was most probably Durvinita, who reigned from about 605 to about 650 A. D (Dubreuil p.), and who is known to be a great scholar (*Calcutta Ori Conf* p 297). The Alupas were probably a branch of the Nāga family ruling over Malabar. The Maurya king of N. Konkana was next attacked with a large fleet, and vanquished. In v 9 above Pulikesin I is said to have subdued the Mauryas but they seem to have become independent as soon as they got an opportunity to do so possibly at the death of Mangalesa. The town Puri on the west coast said in v 21 to have been conquered by Pulikesin II was probably the capital of the Mauryas. Pulikesin is further said to have defeated the kings of Lata, Mālava and Gujarat countries. Inscriptions show that a small Chalukya family began to rule over Lata since this time. These kings cannot be identified with certainty. The greatest achievement of Pulikesin as referred to in v 23 is that he forced Harsha, the paramount sovereign of northern India to retire discomfited. This victory of Pulikesin mentioned also by Huen Tsiang, is naturally made much of in the inscriptions of his successors and we see that Pulikesin after the defeat of Harsha had assumed the title of Paramesvara (*EJ Ind* VII 163). Pulikesin kept a strong force on the

1921-1922 p. 95) Similarly a copper plate inscription of a Nala king is found at Kithapur in the Berars which shows that that country also was once governed by the Nalas. See Ep. Ind XIX p. 100 The Mauryas were evidently the rulers of N. Konkana and the Kadambas ruled over the western parts of Belgaum and Dharwar districts and eastern part of North Kanara district The Kadamba king defeated by Kirtivarman was probably Krishnavarman II. (Dubreuil op. cit p. 112). From another inscription Kirtivarman seems to have performed some sacrifices. In his time some very beautiful temples were built by the initiation of his younger brother Mangalesa. Kirtivarman was succeeded by Mangalesa in about 597 A. D. He is said in our inscription to have been governing the country between the eastern and western seas, to have subdued the Kalachuri king and to have seized the Revatidvipa, which is identified with modern ' Redi ' eight miles to the south of Vengurla in the Ratnagiri district in the Bombay Presidency. The Kalachuri king defeated by him is not named in our record but from other inscriptions we know that he was Buddharāja, son of S'ankaragana of the early Kalachuri (Hailaya) family (Dubreuil op. cit p. 82). We have, therefore, to suppose that Mangalesa had invaded Gujarat and Malva where Buddharāja was ruling. Mangalesa is said to have built the famous Vishnu temple at Bādami during the time of his elder brother Kirtivarman and issued some gifts. From vv. 14 and 15 it seems that Mangalesa had tried to make his son his successor, and had exiled Pulakesin the son of his elder brother Kirtivarman but somehow Pulakesin secured the kingdom in about A. D. 610 He was the greatest ruler of the time and the sovereign lord of almost the whole of southern India He bore many epithets but our inscription gives only one namely, Satyāśraya. Taking advantage of the confused condition of the kingdom at the death of Mangalesa the once conquered kings tried to make themselves independent The kings Appāyika and Govinda invaded the

territory north of the river Bhaimarathi (modern Bhima). The former king was defeated and the latter was made an ally. Nothing definite is known of these kings.

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जलनिधिरिव व्योम v. 21	भुवस्तलमिव व्योम Iv. 29	
दण्डोपनत v. 22	दण्डोपनतचरित Iv. 29	
चर्याचार्या अभवत् v. 22	आचार्यकं चके XII. 78	...
भुवस्तलमिव व्योम v. 24	मार्गेषिणी सा कटकान्तेरेषु xvi. 31	—
शोभावन्ध्यविन्ध्य v. 24	विन्ध्यस्य संस्तोभायिता xii. 1	—
यस्य दुर्गम v. 27	अरीणो तस्य दुर्गम xvii. 70	—
अम्बरमियोजितसन्ध्यगां v. 28	गलितांग रामैः xvi. 58	स्थिगितवारिदं पैक्तया संध्यया ix. 9,
	सान्ध्य भेषस्थिराद्वाससः xi. 60	
षड्डिघं चलं v. 29	पृष्ठिघं बलमादाय iv. 26.	—
	स गुणां बलानांच पाणां xvii. 67.	
सम्भवकाशीपुर v. 29	रजोन्धकार vii. 39.	शारान्धकार xvii. 20
कवेरी दृतशक्ती v. 30	मैन्यपरिभेगिन...	शक्ती परिस्तु रितचा-
	कवेरी सरितं Iv. 45	रद्दशः vi. 16 iv 3 vii. 35.
जित्वा भूमिपतीन् etc v. 32	इति जित्वा दिशो etc v. 85, 86	...
वानार्पी नगरी प्रविश्य etc. सवेलावप्रवलार्मां...पूरित्वा I ४० v. 32		—

The metres used in the *prastuti* are —

आर्या vv. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7; आर्यमिति v. 37; औपच्छन्दसिक vv. 9, and 26; इन्द्रवज्ञा v. 19; उपजाति v. 6; इतविलम्बित v. 10; प्रहर्षी v. 30; गतेभविकीडित v. 18; मन्दाभान्ना v. 17. मालिनी v. 13, 23, 24, and 25; रथोद्धता v. 8; वसन्तनिलक v. 11, 14, 28, and 35; वंशास्त्र v. 12; शार्दूलवर्कीडित v. 5, 29, and 32; स्लोक (अनुप्त्) v. 20, 22, 27, 31, 33; 34, and 36; अस्पग v. 16; हरिणी v. 21.

When the ' king was asleep he did shut his eyes, and showed that he was a mortal. But the pre-eminence of his form showed him to be a god. v. 7 श्रीवल्लभ is a विद्वद् or personal appellation of Pulakesin. The idea is that though he had already espoused इन्दुकान्ति (moon-like beauty) and was ' the lord of धी ' still he (as if marrying a third time) became the bridegroom of the city of Vatapi. The town Vatapipuri is represented by the poet as a newly married woman. Some scholars take the word इन्दुकान्ति to mean the place from where Pulakesin migrated (*Dubressil Ant. Decc.* p 111) v. 7 वसापिपुरि—It can be identified with modern Badami in the Bijapur district. The place is said to have got its name as Agastya destroyed here the demon-brothers Vatapi and Ilvala. (See *Ind. Ant.* VIII. p 238). v. 7 वपुवरतो अग्नासीत्—went to the condition of being the bridegroom of the bride. v. 8 ग्रिवर्ण—i. e. Dharma, Artha and Kama. v. 8 अत्तमृथमङ्गनं—The bath that is taken after the conclusion of a sacrifice by the yajamana with his wife. V. 9 The second half of this stanza contains a fine conceit. V. 10. गन्धगन् is an elephant of the best kind the fragrance of whose ichor other elephants cannot stand. ' यस्य गन्धं समाग्राय न तिष्ठन्ति ग्रन्थिद्विः । स वै गन्धगनो नाम ग्रन्थिविजयायहः ॥ स्वेदमूत्रं पुरीषं च मञ्ज्रां चैव मतङ्गजाः । यस्याग्राय विमायनि तं विद्याद् गन्धहस्तिगम् ॥ ' कदम्ब—mark the pun on the word v. 11 तस्मिन्सुरेश्वर etc. i. e. when he died. v. 12 रक्षया किंडा नेत्रापेत—This suggests that he was preferred by the people to Mangalesa and his son (Fleet *Ind. Ant.* 1899 p. 244) v. 14. अराहद्युद्धौ—etc रुप् with अप् means to debar, to banish, to exile. अपहृदस्य चरिते (=चरणे) व्यवसायासिमका (=निधिना) तुदिःयस्य. The whole phrase suggests that Pulakesin, either banished by Mangalesa or having left the country from fear of him, went to neighbouring princes and asked

then assistance in the recovery of his rights v 15 रद—
 Governs Pulakesin in the preceding verse मन्त्रात्मा इशार्की—
 Regal power is made of three elements प्रभुशक्ति power of
 great position मन्त्रशक्ति power of good counsel and उत्साहशक्ति
 power of energy Pulakesin being devoid of प्रभुशक्ति could only
 possess the other two According to Prof. Gajendragadkar and
 Karamarkar the प्रभुशक्ति means the majesty or personal magne-
 tism Pulakesin had it within himself He had therefore to
 gain from outside the other two i.e. he had to secure good
 counsellors and inspire his followers with energy When he
 did this he could easily undermine the power of Mangalesa
 This stanza is a good example of the figure सहोक्ति
 V 16 तावत्तच्छन्मगे etc The verse states that as the
 rising sun dissipates the darkness of night so Pulakesin
 dispersed the enemies who on the destruction of
 Mangalesa's rule (lit of the umbrella which is the sign of
 sovereignty) on all sides beset the realm Taking advan-
 tage of the confused condition at the Chalukya court caused
 by the quarrel for succession between Mangalesa and Pulakesin
 the enemies of the Chalukyas made bold to infest their ter-
 ritories Some of the feudatories seem to have even revolted
 as is seen from their re conquest by Pulakesin When Mang-
 aleśa's power was definitely broken Pulakesin drove all these
 enemies away by his irresistible arms. अलिकुल ... वायातम्—
 The idea is that when the wind is blowing very forcibly
 the sky cannot become dark like the swarm of bees by the over-
 crowding of clouds The clouds are bound to disappear by the
 velocity of the wind Similarly when a strong man like Pulakesin
 seized the throne the empire could not be infested by
 hordes of enemies (अखिल) who could seize the outskirts of
 the empire (क्षुण्णर्पयन्तमाग) and in the armies of which there
 could be flags and roaring elephants तावत्—no sooner than
 "रद जगत्" ततिभि इव प्रभात आकातमासीत् । प्रभात् is a predicative

adjective of जगत् । यात् = जात्. Dr. Kielhorn states that though the poet employing the figure of अप्रस्तुतप्रसौता in the second half of the verse actually speaks of a phenomenon of nature, the clearance of the sky of stormclouds by the agency of the sun, the context and his choice of the words, पताकः पर्यन्तभाग, गर्ज, अलिकुल, (वालि readily suggests अरि र् and ल् being interchangeable) at once suggest to the reader what is intended to be conveyed. The question ending with कदा वा undoubtedly requires an answer in the negative (न कदापि)

With the second half of the verse compare Varāhamihira's description of the clouds at the time of an earthquake. चृहत्सीहेता XXX. 17. Parallelisms with the *Raghuvamśa* and *Kiraṇarjunīya* have already been shown. V. 17. यस्यानीकैः etc. This indicates that the first king was regularly defeated but the second king of his own accord sought his friendship. The word अनीक is used by the poet as many as six times. उपकृतम् उपकार. It may mean 'service' done by Govinda of 'Kindness' shown by Pulakesin V. 18. रद्दाचर्ष etc. The city of Vanavāsi being represented as a woman, has for her tinkling girdle the rows of singing *hamsa* birds that play in the Varadā river which flows close to the town. Vanavāsi was really a fortress on land. But when it was besieged by the vast army of Pulakesin, which created the impression of an ocean assumed the appearance of a fortress in water. अवगृह्ण—reduce. This is a good instance of उत्पेक्षा. V. 19 आसन्नसेवामृतपानशौण्डाः etc. Though they had renounced the vice of drink together with the other six vices, they again became drunkards by drinking the nectar in the form of attendance on the emperor. This is a good example of विरेधाभास. The seven vices are—

यूतं मांस सुह वेद्याखेटचौर्यं पराङ्मनाः ।

महापापानि सौमेव व्यसनानि स्यजेन्द्रुधः ॥

V. 20 मैर्यपत्त्वल etc. The comparison is a proverbial one.

V. 21 पुरमिदृ lit. the destroyer of Pura i.e. the god Śiva.

Three demons, Tāraksha, Kamalāksha and Vidyunmalin, sons of Tāraka had obtained three cities as a boon from Brahmā. They were built for them by Maya, the architect of the gods and were made of gold, silver and iron and were situated in the sky, in the air and on the earth respectively. When these demons began to trouble the world, Śiva, at the request of the gods burnt the three cities. Hence he is known as Tripurāri, Purabhid etc. See 'Mahabharata, Karna, 24 and 27. 'Destroyer of cities is also an epithet of Indra and recalls his exploits in the Veda. There he is described as demolishing the cities or fortresses of his enemies i. e. the clouds. See ऋग्वेद X 89. 7. In the stanza the ships are first compared with elephants and as such they are further likened to clouds.

V. 22 म्रतापोपनता etc. Although the Lātas etc. impressed by his majesty and power, had voluntarily submitted to him or sought his protection, they behaved so humbly and obediently as by their conduct to set an example to others whom he had subjected by force. गुजरात—This was evidently an early Gurjar family ruling in Broach district. They were probably a branch of the Gurjaras of Mandor in Rajaputana. See *Proceedings of the First Ori. Conf. Vol. I p. cxvii.*

V. 23 हृष्णः—The most important victory of Pulkesin which greatly enhanced his reputation and which is mentioned with pride in Chālukya documents was his defeat of Harshavardhana, who having subdued almost the whole of Northern India wished to extend his conquests in the South but was frustrated in his attempt by the heroic stand of Pulikesin. This battle took place probably in A. D. 630. V. 24 भुव...स्वर्द्धयेव. Dr. Kielhorn finds in this stanza a reference to the story of the Vindhya and Agastya and according to him the idea in it is this—Really the mountainous country of the Vindhya had to be avoided by the king's elephants, because it was impassable for them; but the poet's reason is that the elephants were

higher than the Vindhya. If they had gone there the Vindhya by the presence of these mountain-like elephants would have tried to grow higher in rivalry and thus transgressed the command of the sage Agastya that it should not go higher so long as Agastya remained in the south. In this way the very absence of the king's elephants becomes an additional token of his might.

But it is not necessary to refer to the legend. The simple meaning is this. Finding Pulikesin too strong an opponent Harshavardhana gave up all thoughts of his conquest of the Deccan. Having thus no fear from further invasion from the North it was not necessary for Pulikesin, whose strength of forces was well known, to keep his armies consisting of huge elephants occupy the Vindhya regions to guard against the North Indian emperor. The regions were quite clean of any armies and therefore shone. But the poet fancies that they shone more because they were quite free from their rivals, the huge elephants who had no reason to go there.

V. 25 शक्तकर्णः He was like Indra because like that god he possessed certain Śaktis but was inferior to him because his Śaktis were only three (the powers of mastery, good counsel and energy, while Indra possesses eight Śaktis (Indrāni etc) Hence the king is शक्तकर्ण—कर्ण meaning ईयन्त्यून—somewhat inferior: But it is better to take कर्ण not in the strict sense but in the general sense of resembling. V. 25 माहाकुल—According to Pānini IV. 1. 141 it means 'born in a noble family. But here it is used as an abstract noun. V. 27 यस्य दुर्गम् etc. Against Pānini II. 3. 69 the genitive case is used in construction with दुर्गम् in accordance with the maxim सर्वयोगेऽपि शेषविवशायां पर्यामुच्छन्ति । V. 28 कौनालं जलं—the waters of the Kunāla lake, which is identified with modern Kolleru lake, south of Pithapuram between the rivers Godavari and Krishnā. V. 29 उद्दत...भृधकार—The darkness raised by the troops is the dust. Besides in the Raghuvamśa, as shown

above we have a similar idea in विकमाङ्गदेवचरित I. 75 [खण्डन्यकार] The poetical beauty here lies in the fact that darkness is enumerated together with such very different things as chowries etc. मौल Hereditary troops, see in No 9. यलरज...प्राकारान्तरित—this is a Karmadhīrīya compound The splendour of the Pallava, when he was defeated in the open, was first only obscured, afterwards, when he had to retire within the walls of his fortress, it entirely vanished. Here the splendour of the Pallava is compared with the sun. This is Kielhorn's interpretation He takes संश्लज् another adjective of प्रताप. Splendour obscured by dust and vanished behind walls But the simple idea seems to be that the Pallava's valour was made to confine in the ramparts of Kāñchipuram enveloped by the dust of Pulikesin's army V 30 कावेरी etc The verse clearly was suggested to our author by Raghu. IV 45 स सैन्यपरिमोगेन गजदानसुगन्धिना । कावेरीं सरिता पल्यु शङ्खनीयामिवाकरोत् ॥ By the fact that his soldiers used the water of the river for bathing etc. and in doing so made it fragrant with the rutting juice of their elephants Raghu made the river Kaveri an object of suspicion for the ocean, her husband who by the smell of her body would be led to believe that she had had intercourse with other men Ravikirti too mentions the rutting juice, but does so in a more *opithelon ornans* which he might as well have omitted because in his verse the real reason for the Kaveri's keeping away from the ocean is that her current was obstructed by the bulky elephants on which Pulikesin crossed the river Ravikirti has spoiled Kalidasa's verse by crowding into it an idea from the Raghu IV 38 स तीर्त्या विश्वा सैन्यैर्बद्धद्विरदसेतुभि The epithet of the Kaveri द्रक्षयपरी etc was apparently suggested as above, by the epithet शफर्णपरिस्फुरितचाहृदा, in the Kārtti VI 1. 30 कावेरी —An important river in south India. जो has its source in western Ghats and flows through the Mysore state and continuing through Trichinopoly distinct reaches the sea in the delta

of victory by his valour in war, being a scent-elephant of a king, of great strength, at once completely broke down the multitude of the broad Kadamba trees—the *Kadambas*.

V. 11 When his desire was bent on the domain of the lord of the gods, (i. e. when he died) his younger brother *Mangaleśa* became king who by the sheets of dust of his army of horses, encamped on the shores of the eastern and western seas, stretched a canopy over the quarters. V. 12 Who, having dispelled the mass of darkness in the form of the elephants (of the enemies) with hundreds of Jamps in the form of swords having shining rays, obtained in the house in the form of the battle-field, possession (in marriage) of the damsel in the form of the Fortune of the Katachchhuris.

V. 13 And again, when he was desirous of taking the *Island of Revati*, his great army with many bright banners, which had ascended the ramparts, appeared as it was reflected in the water of the great sea like Varuna's forces, quickly come there at his word (of command). V. 14 When his elder brother's son, named *Polekesin*, of a dignity like Nahusha's was coveted by fortune, and finding his uncle to be jealous of him thereat, had formed the resolution to wander abroad as an exile. V. 15 That *Mangaleśa*, whose great strength became on all sides reduced by the application of the powers of good counsel and energy gathered by him (Pulikesin) abandoned, together with the effort to secure the kingdom for his own son, both his vast kingdom and his life. V. 16 No sooner his sovereignty was overthrown than the whole world which was enveloped in the darkness of enemies received the shining dawn being as though overpowered by the rows of the lustre of his irresistible valour. When indeed does the sky go to be black like a swarm of bees with thundering clouds, in which flashes of lightning are dancing like banners, and the edges of which are crushed when the violent wind (is blowing)? V. 17 When, having found the opportunity, he, who was named *Ajyāśik* and

Gorinda approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country lying north of the *Bhimarathi*, the one in battle though his armies came to know the taste of fear while the other at once obtained there the fruit of the service rendered by him V 18 When he was reducing *Panavisi* which hid for a girdle rows of *hamsa* birds sporting on the stage of the high waves of the *Varadī* and which by its wealth rivalled the city of the gods that fortress on land having the surface of the earth all around covered with the great ocean of his army, seemed to the looker on to be at once converted into a fortress in water V 19 Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven vices the *Ganga* and *Alupa* lords being won over by his dignity were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him V 20 In the *Konkanas* by the impetuous waves of the forces directed by him the rising wavelets of pools in the form of the *Maṇjas* were violently swept away V 21, When, radiant like the destroyer of cities (i e *Siva* or *Indra*) he was subduing *Puri*, the glory of the western sea with hundreds of ships in appearance like an array of rutting elephants, the sky, dark-blue like a new lotus and overspread with an army of thick clouds, resembled the sea and the sea was like the sky V 22 Subdued by his splendour the *Latas* *Milavas* and *Gurjaras* became as it were teachers of (the lesson of) the behaviour of feudatories, subdued by force V 23 *Harsha* whose lotus feet were covered with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured wealth was by him made to lose his mirth (*harsha*) in fear having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle. V. 24 While he was ruling the earth with his vast armies, the neighbourhood of the *Vindhya*, rich in the beauty of various sand banks of the *Reva* shone the more by the greatness of its own lustre having to be avoided by his elephants because as it seemed, they by their bulk rivalled the mountains V 25 Almost equal

to Indra, he by means of all the three powers, gathered by him according to rule, and by the collection of his qualities such as nobility of birth and others acquired the sovereignty over the three *Mahārāshtrakas* comprising of nine and ninety thousand villages. V. 26 The Kalingas, along with the Kosalas, who were eminent in the pursuit of the three (objects of life) because of the proper qualities of their householders, and who could effect the breaking of the pride of other kings, were made to evince signs of fear by (the power of) his army.

V. 27 Hard pressed (*pishta*) by him *Pishlafura* became a fortress not difficult of access; (but) strange (to say) the ways of the Kali age to him were quite inaccessible. V. 28 Ravaged by him, the water of Kunāla the interior of which was covered with arrays of accoutred elephants coloured with the blood of men killed with various weapons, became like the cloud-covered sky in which the red evening-twilight has risen. V. 29. With his six-fold forces, the hereditary troops and others, which raised hundreds of spotless chowries, flags, umbrellas, and darkness by dust, and who churned the enemy elated with the sentiments of heroism and energy, he made the the lord of the Pallavas who had opposed the rise of his power have his valour concealed behind the ramparts of Kanchipura, enveloped in the dust of his armies. V. 30 When straightway he strove to conquer the Cholas, the Kāveri, who has the darling caips for her tremulous eyes, had her waters blocked by the causeway formed by his elephants whose rutting juice was dripping down, and consequently avoided the contact with the ocean. V. 31 There he who was the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost in the form of the army of the Pallavas, caused great prosperity to the Cholas, Keralas, and Pāndyas. V. 32 While he, *Satyāśraya*, endowed with the powers of energy, mastery, and good counsel, having conquered all the quarters, having dismissed the kings full of honours, having done homage to Gods and Brahmanas, having entered the city of Vatāpi, is ruling like one city, this earth

which has the dark-blue waters of the surging seas for its moat. V. 33 When thirty (*and*) three thousand and five years joined with seven hundred years, have passed since the Bharata war to now V. 34 And when fifty (*and*) six and five hundred years of the Saka kings also have gone by in the Kali age ; V. 35 This stone mansion of Jinendra, a mansion of every kind of greatness, has been caused to be built by the talented Ravikirti who has obtained the highest favour of that *Satyaśraya* whose rule is bounded by the three oceans. V. 36 Of this eulogy and of this dwelling of the Jina the teacher of the three worlds, the blessed Ravikirti himself is the author and also the founder. V. 37 May that Ravikirti be victorious, who full of discernment has made use of the abode of the Jina, firmly built of stone, for a new treatment of his theme, and who by his poetic skill has attained to the fame of Kalidasa and of Bharavi.

No. 13.

Udaipur Stone Inscription of Aparājita.

General Remarks—This inscription is engraved in very beautiful characters of the *Kulīla* script on a slab of stone, which was originally found in the Kundesvara temple near Nāgadā in Mewar in Rajaputana and is now preserved in the Victoria Hall at Udaipur, the capital of Mewar. It was edited by the late Dr. F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol IV p. 29. The inscribed portion, which measures 1' 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high contains 12 lines of writing.

The contents of the inscription can be divided into the following sections—

- 1 Invoking the protection of the god Vishnu under the names of Hari and Sauri ; v. 1—2.
- 2 In the Guhila family king Aparājita was born; v. 3

- 3 He had appointed Varāhasimha, son of Śiva, as his general, as Indra had appointed Skanda son of the god Śiva; v. 4—5.
- 4 His wife was Yaśomati, who built a temple of Vishnu v. 6—8.
- 5 In the rainy season : v. 9.
- 6 Prayer for the everlasting preservation of the temple ; v. 10.
- 7 The praśasti was composed by Dāmodara, son of Brahmachāri and grandson of Dāmodara, v. 11.
- 8 It was engraved by Yaśobhata. v. 12.
- 9 The temple was inaugurated on the fifth of the bright half of Mārgasīrsha in the year 718. v. 13

Aparajita of the inscription was a king of the famous Guhila family of Mewar, whose descendants are ruling to this day. He succeeded Śilāditya or Śila whose Samoli inscription of V. S. 703 is found, but his relation with Śila is not known. (See R. B. Ojha's *History of Rajputana* Vol. II p. 403).

The inscription is dated in the year 718, which must refer to the Vikrama era. It is therefore equivalent to 661 A. D. Mr. K. G. Sankar suggests that the date 661 A. D. for Dāmodara II suggests that his grandfather was perhaps identical with Dāmodara, the friend of Bhāravi, the protege of Vishnuvardhana, Durvinita and Simhavishnu and the great-grandfather of Dandin. The poetry of the inscription is on the whole a good one. The poet, Dāmodara, seems to be fond of using puns as is seen specially from the fourth and the fifth verses. V. 10 is an excellent example of the author's fondness for alliteration. The language used in the record is not always correct as the word सुरक्षतन्त्र in v. 1 shows. The word तन्त्र seems to be used in the sense of तन्त्रे, a slender or graceful woman. Similarly the form तरन् in v. 8 in the sense of

नरिष्यती is inaccurate. The compound सुरदृ...कृत् in v. 3 is a bad one. In v. 9 the poet has altogether omitted the word काले which is quite indispensable. The metres used in the *prafasli* are—आर्या v. 13; ईशव्रज्ञा v. 7; उपजाति v. 4; द्रुतावलवित v. 5; रथोद्रता v. 6; शार्दूलविक्षिप्तिः v. 1, and 3; शिखरिणी v. 8; छोक अनुष्ठम् (v. 11 and 12); and भाग्यग्नि v. 2, 9 and 10.

Notes—V. 2 गण्डशेलः huge rocks. रथः force.

V. 7 आदन्धकी a harlot (because of her constant change of masters, the goddess of fortune is often likened to a harlot) V. 8 वरन् stands for वरत् or तारयत् referring to भवन or the masculine form is used instead of the feminine, तरस्ती or rather तारयन्ता. V. 12 पूर्वः This word occurs at the end of the inscriptions Nos 5 and 8 above.

Translation.

V. 1 May the (god) Hari protect (you) for whom women of the cowherds entertain a longing think thus—Happy are in the world the celestial beautiful women who attain bliss, when a certain woman is touched in sport on her breast by his finger nails, another by her hair being drawn, a third by falling at her feet as he was under the influence of passion and a fourth by embracing her neck. V. 2 May the strong arms (lit bar-like arms) of Šauri i. e. Vishnu which act like the pillars in upholding the house of the three worlds, which are prepared for checking the force of the unfathomable waterflow in the form of the worldly existence, which are the axes capable of cutting the thick forest of trees in the form of the best of Asuras, puffed up with pride, which are like huge rocks in the ocean lasting (even) at the dissolution of the world, and which are used as a pleasure cushion by Lakshmi. V. 3 There was a celebrated king named

Aparājita, born in the pure ocean of the Guhila lineage, an ornament of the earth, resembling the round and pure Kaustubha jewel because of his pure conduct, who was paid homage with their foreheads by kings, who destroyed the arrogance of the wicked and vicious people and dispersed the dense darkness by his shining rays. V. 4 He chose for his chief leader (i. e. the commander of his forces) the son of (a man named) Śiva, the Maharaja Varāhasimha, whose store of strength was never diminished and who assailed the vile adversaries, as Indra had chosen for his general (god) Śiva's son, Skanda, whose power and arms are never broken and who rides on a peacock (the enemy of serpents). V. 5 Whose fame surrounded by (high) qualities, though established (in other sense though firm by being bound with ropes) spreads itself and moves in the quarters, which though sung (lit. taken) by people is free from diminution, and which though white has reddened (i. e. pleased the people on) the surface of the earth. V. 6 His loving (house) wife was one bearing the name Yasomati, who was possessed of glory, who checked the mind from going astray. In modesty (or high righteous conduct or wisdom) she resembled (lit. became) Arundhati. V. 7 The goddess of fortune (Lakshmi) is a harlot; Gaurt is attached, to Sthānū (lit. immovable) and Rati is overcome with the grief of widowhood (at the death of her husband Cupid). (Thus) the lady (Yasomati) being incomparable in the three worlds stood in the fore-front of matrons. V. 8 Seeing the goddess of wealth (as fickle) as the twinkling of her own eye, youth and wealth as unsteady as the cloured interval part of a very small wave, she built (lit. made) a firm temple of the god Vishnu (enemy of Kaitabha) which would (enable her to), cross the ocean of the worldly existence, full of crocodiles in the form of evil passions. V. 9 The temple of the god Vishnu (enemy of the demon Naraka) was built in that (season) in which the autumnal winds bearing drops of water blow high-winds, which throw around

the rows of clouds, which shake off the plumage of the peacocks dancing with a low tone under the influence of passion, which (winds) open out (lit. break forth) the pointed blades of the ketaka trees darkened with the pollen coming out of the burst capsular. V 10. May the famous temple of (the god) Sauri which is attested to by saluting Brahmanas, who have observed their vows, last so long as the sun's horse having high colours hurt by the points of their hoofs the clouds, the enclosed seas with their unequalled waters do not sweep over the surface of the earth, the regions of the Meru (mountain) resorted to by the celestial beings and fragrant with the blossoms of the *namaren* trees. V. 11 (This) mockery of a poem was composed by (a man) named Dāmodara, the son of Brahmachāri and the grandson of Dāmodara. V. 12 This (eulogy) that precedes was engraved in a clear way with beautiful letters by young Yaśobhata, son of Vatsa and grandson of Ajita. V. 13 The consecration (ceremony) of Vāsudeva (was performed) on the fifth of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣ in the year seven hundred increased by eighteen.

Obeisance to Vāsudeva,

No 14

Aphsad Stone Inscription of Adityasena

General Remarks This inscription was discovered by Major Kittoe some time before 1850 and was published in various places till in 1888 Dr. Fleet edited it critically in his *Gupt Inscriptions* pp. 200 ff. It is engraved on a stone—slab in the village Aphsad in the Nawada subdivision of the Gayā District. Unfortunately this original stone is now missing. The inscribed portion measuring 2' 9" broad by 1' 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high has suffered a great deal from the effects of the weather. It contains 28 lines of writing in *Kulīla* characters.

The inscription is sectarian its principal object being to re-

• rulers are known from this inscription and three more names, Devagupta, Vishnugupta and Jivitagupta, are known from another inscription. (*F. G. I.* Nos. 46). This family was ruling contemporary first with the Maukhari family of Kanauj (No. 8 above in the Selections), with whom there was going on 'a hereditary fight and secondly with the Vardhana family of Kanauj, with whom they were on friendly terms.

The Later Guptas

Krishnagupta
Harshagupta
Jivitagupta
Kumāragupta
Dāmodaragupta
Mahāsenagupta
Mādhavagupta
Ādityasena

The Maukharies

Harivarman
Ādityavarman
Iśvaravarman
Iśānavarman
Sarvavarman
Avantivarman
Grihavarman

V. 8 of our record states that Kumāragupta defeated a king named Iśānavarman. The latter must have been a king of the Maukhari family whose inscription of 555 A.D. is found at Haraha (No. 8 above). Kumāragupta's son Dāmodara-gupta is said further in V. 11 to have died while fighting with a Maukhari king who had routed the Hūna troops. The Maukhari king was probably Sarvavarman, the son of Iśānavarman. Nothing is known of the Hūna king. Probably a Huna army had invaded India for the third time in about 580 A.D.—their first invasion being towards the close of the Imperial Kumāragupta's reign in about 450 and the second, more successful than the first, was led by the famous Toramā-nā in 510—but was defeated by Maukhari Sarvavarman, who was certainly a powerfull king. V. 14 of the record states that Mahāsenagupta defeated Susthitavarman in a battle on the bank of the river Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. This Susthitavarman is known to us from the Nidhanpur inscription (Ep. Ind. XII 70, XIX 115) as the father of Bhāskaravarman,

the well known ruler of Kamarūpa (Assam) who was a friend of the great Harshavardhana of Kanauj. This helps us to assign about 625 A.D. as the date of Susthitavarman and consequently of our Mahāsenagupta. V. 18 suggests that Mahāsenagupta's son Kumāragupta was an ally of Harshadeva, evidently the Kanauj emperor. There is reason to believe from this and from the fact that Bhāskaravarman was a friend and subordinate of Harsha that the Magadha king Mahāsenagupta might have fought against the Kamarūpa Susthitavarman on behalf of Harshavardhana (or his father) and thus the Kamarupa family became a feudatory of the Kanauj family.

The date of the inscription-The inscription is undated: But since it belongs to the time of Ādityasena, of whom the Śāhāpur stone inscription of (Harsha) samvat 66 i. e. 672 A. D. (*F. G. I.* No. 43) is found we can assign this inscription to about the last quarter of the seventh cent. A. D.

As regards the poetical value of the *prāśasti* it can be said that it is written in a high Gaudī style, in which more attention is given for pompousness in diction and in figures and superabundance of compounds (cf Dandin's *Kāvyādarsa* i, 50 and 80). The language of the inscription, Dr. Fleet writes, offers about the earliest instance of the hyperbolical expressions and mythological allusions with which the later inscriptions abound, distinguishing them so completely from the artistic, concise, dignified, and frequently really poetical, style of the more ancient records. The poet uses a number of *upasṭas* in the *prāśasti*. Some of the ideas are too often repeated e. g. the idea of breaking the temples of the enemy's elephants is found in vv. 1, 11, 19, 21, 24 and 25. The metres used in the inscription are आर्णी vv. 2, 4, 6, 7, 12 and 15; वसन्तातिलकं vv. 11, 18, 19 and 22; शारदूलविकीर्णितं vv. 1, 5, 14, 16, 17, 20, 25, 26, 28, and 29. श्वोक (अनुदुम) vv. 9, 10, 13, 23, 27 and 30; and शापस्त्र vv. 9, 10, 13, 23, 27 and 30.

Notes— दान्तेसहस्र etc. The meaning of these terms is to be taken both in the case of Krishnagupta and the mountain. दृन्ति—In his army and in the mountain. विद्यापराम्भासित is to be taken in two senses, in one विद्याधर means a learned man and in the other the semidivine beings. सद्वंश—In one sense born of a good family and in the other having good bamboo trees. V. 2 सकल etc. are to be taken both with reference to the king and the moon. V. 3 The first half of the verse is rather difficult. v. 4 दृष्टिरिति.....शिरिरकरः—Compare with this, the expression दानवाहनामुखाम्बोजलक्ष्मीतुपोरेण विष्णुना in the Tushām inscription. F. - G. I. No. 66. v. 6 कोशर्यधन—It is not known which mountain is denoted by this name. It is not found mentioned in the Rāmāyana nor in any other Paurānic literature. It was probably the Mahendra mountain from which, as stated in the Rāmāyana Hanuman jumped. But this Mahendra mountain is different from the Mahendra mountain in the Kalinga province. (See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, II. p. 349). पवनजस्य—i. e. of Hanumat, who was one of the most celebrated of a host of semi divine apes, who were created to become the allies of Rama in his war with Rāvana. The leaders of this army of monkeys were supposed to be the offspring of various gods; and Hanumat was the son of Pavana or Maruta, the Wind. v. 7 शिखिवाहनं इति—One who rides on a peacock i. e. Kārtikeya, the son of Śiva. One of the names of Kārtikeya is Kumāra. Hence the comparison between him and Kumāragupta. v. 8 लक्ष्मी—She is often described as the representative of royal power. मन्दरीभूय—The allusion in the verse is to the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons for the recovery of the nectar and other precious things that had been lost. The mountain Mandāra was utilised as the churning stick. And, during the process, Lakshmi sprung up from the froth of the sea. See *Vishnupurāna* I. 9-76

were covered with the stems of plantain trees cut by the trunks of elephants roaming through the very lofty groves of palm-trees; (or) even though they stood on the mountain cold with the water of the torrents rushing forth and spreading sprays all around. V. 6. Even still his superhuman deeds are regarded with astonishment by all people like the leap of (the monkey Hanumat) the son of the Wind from the side of (the mountain) Kośavardhana. V. 7 That King begat one son, by name Kumāragupta, of renowned strength, foremost in battle; just as (the god) Hara (Śiva) begat a son, (Kumāra or Kartikeya) who rides upon the peacock. V. 8. By whom, playing the part of (the mountain) Mandara, there was quickly churned out the milk-ocean, in the form of the formidable army of (i. e. which flourished with) the moon in the form of the illustrious king Isānavarman, the milk-ocean, which was the means of the acquisition of Lakshmi (the goddess of Fortune), which had (its) spreading rows of waves in the form of the plantain-trees wantonly shaken by the violent wind (caused by the marching of the troops), (and) had (its) rocks, in the form of the ponderous and mighty rutting elephants (of the forces), whirled round by the flow of water in the form of the flying dust (stirred up by the soldiers). V. 9. Observing the vow of heroism and truth, (even) in (the possession of) wealth, he went to Prayāga; (and there), being decorated with flowers, he plunged into a fire of dry cow-dung cakes, as if into water. V. 10. The son of that king was Dāmodara-gupta, by whom (his) enemies were slain, just like the demons by (the god) Dāmodara. V. 11. Breaking up the proudly roaring array of mighty elephants, of the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hunas (in order to trample them to death), he became unconscious (and expired in the fight); (and then, waking again in heaven, and) making a choice among the women of the gods, saying " (this one or that) belongs to me, " he was revived by the pleasing

touch of the waterlilies in the form of their hands V. 12
 He, (while he was) a king, gave away in marriage a hundred
 daughters of Brāhmaṇas endowed with many ornaments and
 with youth, (and) dowered with grants of *agrāharas* (villages
 granted to Brahmans). V. 13. From him there was (born)
 a son, (named) Maḥasenagupta, the foremost of heroes
 who in all the assemblages of heroes acquired (reputa-
 tion) as a hero of the foremost rank V. 14 whose bright fame
 marked with the honour of victory in war over Suṣhitavar-
 man, (and) [white] as a full blown jasmine-flower or
 waterlily, or as a necklace of pure and well formed (pearls) is
 still constantly sung on the banks of (the river) Lauhitya the
 surfaces of which are cool by the pairs of Siddhas awakened
 up after sleeping in the shade of fully developed betel plants.
 V. 15 As (the good) Maḍhava, whose feet are graced by the
 services of (the goddess) Śrī, (was born) from Vāsudeva, so
 from him there was born (a son), named Maḍhavagupta,
 who was preeminently the sentiment of valour and whose feet
 were graced by the attentions of the goddess of fortune. V. 16
 He being remembered in the foremost rank
 being the leader of those who acquire renown in war, (and)
 being a repository of goodness the best of those who
 excel in the collection and bestowal of riches the natural
 home of wealth, truth and learning, (and) a firm embankment
 of religion --there is no one on the earth
 who is (as) worthy to be praised by virtues, V. 17 He
 also, carried a discus in the palm of (his) hand like Vishnu
 holding the *chakra* (discus) to him also belonged a bow made
 of horn, like Vishnu holding the Śārṅga *dhanus* and to him
 also belonged a pleasing sword (which was employed) for
 the destruction of (his) enemies (and) for the happiness of
 his friends like Vishnu who holds the *nandaka* sword who
 has (and), when the slaughter of (his) foes had been
 achieved was averted by him,

No. 15

Rāgim Copperplate Inscription of Tivaradeva.

General Remarks—This inscription engraved on three copperplates each measuring $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ was first published in 1825 in the *Asiatic Researches* Vol XV. 499. It was last edited with a facsimile by Dr. Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions* No 81. The plates were discovered in 1785 A. D. in the town of Rāgim on the right bank of the Mahanādi river about twenty-four miles to the south-east of Raipur in C. P. and are at present preserved in the temple of the god *Rājivalochana* there. The royal seal attached to the plates has a figure of *Garuda* with the head of a man and the body of a bird with his wings expanded and with a serpent over each shoulder. On the right of this is a *chakra* and on the left is a *sankha*. Below this is a legend in two lines given as verse one in the text.

The inscription is non-sectarian its object being to record the grant by king Mahāsiva Tivaradeva of the Pānduvamśa ruling over the Kosala country to two Brāhmaṇas of the village of Pimpripadraka in the Penthāma *bhukti*, on the twelfth lunar day of Jyeshtha. The charter was however assigned on the eighth lunar day of the month of Kartika in the seventh year of the reign, evidently of Tivaradeva. King Tivaradeva mentioned in the record was, as we know from other inscriptions, the son of Nannadeva, grandson of Indrabala and great-grandson of Udayana, who was an enemy of the Pallava king Nandivarman. (See F. G. I. p. 293). One more copperplate inscription is found of Tivaradeva at Baloda (Ep. Ind. VII p. 102). The inscription does not give any distinct information as to the period to which it is to be referred. But on paleographical grounds it may be assigned to the last quarter of the eighth century A. D.

The poetry of the inscription is beautiful and reminds us of the long compounds and similes of the prose passages of Sanskrit prose writers like Bāna. The following metres are used.

in the record शोक (अनुष्टुप्) in the first verse; आर्या in the second verse, but one short syllable is wanting in its second pāda वसतिलक, शोक (अनुष्टुप्) and इन्द्रवज्ञा are used in the three verses respectively in the last portion of the record

Notes V 1 शीमतू... ...तारकम्—This verse is engraved on the seal attached to the copperplate. कोसलाधिपते—The country of Kosala was divided in ancient times into two divisions the north or Uttara Kosala and the south or Dakshina Kosala also sometimes called Mahakosala. Sometimes the Dakshina Kosala country was known as Kosala only as in the present inscription. This Kosala comprised of evidently the modern Chattisgarh division of C. P. (Ind Hist Quart III p 68,) L 5 शिरो—It is modern Sirpur on the bank of the Mahanadi 37 miles north-east of Raipur, the head quarters of the Chhattisgarh Division in C. P. It was once the capital of Mahakosala (See Ep Ind vol xi p 184) पचमहाशान् It is better to take this as epithet of Tiradeva by correcting the text as °शिरोडेनेक° rather than an adjective of रूपति in the line. This epithet was generally used with feudatory kings in ancient India. Dr Fleet has discussed the use of this epithet with respect to kings and officers of high and low grades in Ep Ind XII 255 Dr Krishna swami Aiyangar also has discussed at some length the word in JBBPAS vol 1 (N S) P. 238 The term seems to denote a special privilege of using certain musical instruments as a mark of honour L 10 अकृतकोट्टेग—The word कृत is used in two senses in the sense of a 'tax' with reference to the king and in the sense of a 'ray' with reference to the moon अन्तरेष्य In contrast with the rays of the sun which are oppressive, the rays of the moon are pleasant रत्नसमयद—The milk-ocean contains many jewels लक्ष्मी कौसुम् etc The fourteen were taken out of it Similarly the king wore a number of jewels सुजङ्गाद्वारा—with reference to the king it means 'the Naga race' and with reference to Garuda it means 'a serpent'. L. शशुकलम—The description of the grief of the wives of the enemies de-

(and) who is by nature loving;—Mahāśiva—Tīvararāja,—who is the adopted son of the illustrious Nannadeva, who was the son of the illustrious Indrabala, (and) who adorned the lineage of Pāndu, who has allayed all the troubles of the world with the abundance of his religious merit, who has extracted all thorns with the needle of his wisdom, who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Vishnu, (and) who meditates on the feet of (his) parents,—being in good health, (and) having done worship to the Brāhmaṇas at the (the village of) Pimpāripadraka belonging to the Penthāma bhūkti, issues a command to the residents :—

“ Be it known to you, that this village is given by us, with libations of water, on the twelfth lunar day of (the month of) Jyestha, for the increase of the religious merit of (our) parents and of ourself, to *Bhalla* Bhavadatta and *Bhalla* Haradatta, sons of *Bhalla* Gauridatta, of the Bṛāradvāja *gotra* and the Vājasaneyā—Mādhyandina (Sākha):—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (its) hidden treasures and deposits; not to be entered into by the regular or the irregular troops; (and) accompanied by (the right of) receiving the income from the *dāradranaka* and all (other) taxes.

“ Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness rendering to them, in a proper manner, (their) share of the enjoyment”. And with reference to future kings this is said (lit. laid down). Those kings, who bestow land, enjoy pleasures in heaven; (but) alas! those wicked (kings), who confiscate land (that has been given) fall into hell; bearing in mind these two (alternatives) and also that fortune (and) life are transient, do that which you prefer.” The reward of protection is a good condition, and of omission to protect a bad condition; who, indeed, will (willingly) disregard heaven and go to hell?” Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) Vishnu; and cows are the daughters of the sun: therefore the three worlds (presided over by Agni, Vishnu and the Sun respectively) are given by him, who gives gold, and a cow, and land. On the eighth day of Kārtika in the year of (our) ever-increasing victorious rule.

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(The number denotes the inscription in the Selections).

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APPENDIX.

Portions from Dr. G. Buhler's essay on "Indian Inscriptions and the antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry"

(Copied from the Indian Antiquary of 1913 with the kind permission of the Joint Editors)

INTRODUCTION

Indian Epigraphy which since the last fifteen years has received a new impulse, and which thanks to the progress of Sanskrit philology as well as to the perfecting of the methods of multiplying the inscriptions, leads to more certain results than in early times, has already provided us with several important particulars elucidating the literary and religious history of that part of the world which is inhabited by the Brahmins and which wants a history as such. On the one hand we owe to it particular and very important data which definitely fix the time of prominent authors, as for instance, recently the time of the dramatic poet Rajasekhara, whose pupils and patrons, the kings Mahendrapala and Mahipala ruled during the last decade of the ninth century and in the beginning of the tenth century of our era, as shown by Mr. Fleet and Prof. Kielhorn. On the other hand, the comparison of the partly insignificant notices in the inscriptions with the accounts of literary tradition or with the conditions of the present day, permits us to have an occasional peep, in the development of all the types of literature and of all the religious systems a peep whose worth is considerably significant in the absence of really historical details. Such, for instance is the observation that the tradition about the home of several Vedic schools and also of the works belonging to them, is confirmed through the statements in the old land-grants in as much as, these mention not only the names of the donees but their secular and spiritual families. Not less significant for the history of the very important though little regarded in early times, religion of Mahavira-Vardhamana is the demonstration gradually regarded feasible, that, his followers, the Nirgruntas or Juntas, are mentioned in a number

of inscriptions, which runs on from the beginning of the historical period of India, with but rare interruptions, and that the assertions in their canonical works, about the divisions of the Monk-Schools are made reliable to the most part, through writings of the first century of our era. These hitherto published results are however, only a small part of what the inscriptions may possibly yield to us. An accurate working out and a fuller estimate of the hitherto published materials little in extent though they be will show that one can procure rich instruction from them, in all the departments of Indian Research; and that their results furnish specially sound proof-stones for the theories about the development of Indian intellectual life, theories which the Indologists, build on very weak foundations, compelled as they are by sheer necessity. The following treatise is a small contribution towards the examination of inscriptions in their spirit. Its aim is to establish firmly those results which the inscriptions yield for the history of Indian *Kāvya* or artificial poetry of the court.

The history proper of Indian artificial poetry begins not earlier than in the first half of the seventh century of our era, with the reign of the mighty king Harshavardhana, who ruled over the whole of Northern India from 606 to 648 A. D. The works of his favourite court-poet Bānabhātta who tried to portray the life of his master and of himself in the incomplete historical novel *Sri-Harsha-Charita*, and who besides wrote the romance *Kadambā*, and the poem *Chandi-Satāk*, and perhaps also the drama *Pārvati-parinaya*, are the oldest products of the court-poetry, whose composition falls within the narrow limits given above. Before this time there existed no *Kāvya* as such whose age is hitherto determined with some accuracy and certainty or allows itself to be determined with the accessible documents. Only of one work which shows, throughout, the influence of the *Kāvya* style and which contains several sections entirely written in the *Kāvya* style, we mean, of Varāhamihira's metrical Manual of Astrology the *Brihat-saṃhitā*, it can be said with confidence that it is written about the middle of the sixth century; because Varāhamihira begins the calculations in the *Panchasiddhāntika*, with the year 505 A. D.; and

he is supposed to have died in the year 588 A D according to the statement of one of his commentators. As to when the most celebrated classical poets Kalidasa, Subandhu, Bharavi, Pravarisena, Gunādhyā and the collector of verses, Hāla-Sitakahāri lived, we possess no historical evidence. We can only say that the wide spread of their renown is attested for the first half of the seventh century by the mention of their names by Bīrā and in the Aihole-Meguti inscription of 634 A D, as also that some of them like Gunādhyā to whose work Subandhu does allude repeatedly, must certainly have belonged to a considerably early period. Besides this, there are anecdotes only poorly attested, as well as sayings of very doubtful worth, and the scanty details contained in the poems themselves, which might serve as points for determining their age, are very difficult to be estimated, because the political and literary history of India during the first five centuries of our era lies very much in obscurity. When the age of the most important poets is so absolutely uncertain it is but natural that the case should be in no way better with the general question of the age of the *Kavyā* poetry. In the literature we come across very meagre traces which point to the fact that the artificial poetry was cultivated from earlier times, and to our great regret, even the age of the most important work in which quotations from *Kavyas* occur, we mean, the *Mahābhāshya*, is in no way, above doubt. Thus it is not improbable that these quotations might be left unheeded as being witnesses, little to be trusted as some of the most important inquirers have already done, and that theories not taking notice of the same, might be put forth, which shift the growth of the artificial poetry to a very late age. Under these circumstances it can be easily seen why I make myself bold to claim some interest for the evidence based upon the testimony of inscriptions, in favour of a relatively high antiquity of the artificial poetry.

The materials which the third volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* on the Gupta inscriptions by Mr J. G. Fleet offers for this inquiry are not insignificant, and comprise a large number of wholly or partly metrical inscriptions, whose dates are certain or at least approximately determinable. The same taken together with some documents

already made known through reliable publications allow us to prove the existence of a *Kāvya* literature in Sanskrit and Prakrit during the first five centuries of our era, and to show that a great period of literature, which brought into general prominence the style of the poetic school of Vidarbha or Berar, lies before the middle of the fourth century. It will be seen further on that this conclusion is confirmed by other indications of no doubtful character. Our next and most important work is, however, to inquire how far the samples of the *Kāvya* style contained in the inscriptions agree with the works of the recognised masters of Indian poetic art, and how the same are related to the rules in the manuals of poetics. I therefore take up for purpose of a detailed discussion the following inscriptions.

I. *Vatsabbatti's Praśasti.*

Vatsabbatti's composition consists of 44 verses, not to mention the two 'blessings' or *mangalas* in prose form at the beginning and at the end. The whole can be divided into sections, as follows:—

1. The *mangala* addressed to the Sun in verses 1-3 of which the 1st and the 3rd belong to the type of what is technically called *āśis* or *āśiśrūda* (blessings), while the 2nd verse falls under the category of *namaskṛiti* or *namaskṛita* (salutation).
2. A poetic description of the guild of the silk-weavers of Daśapura-Mandasor, verses 4-22, in which, descriptions of their early fatherland Lāṭa or Gujarat, and of their later home Daśapura, are interwoven.
3. A poetic picture of the suzerain Kumāragupta, verse 23.
4. The same of his vassals Viśvavarman and Bandhavarman, the rulers of Daśapura, verses 24-28.
5. A short description of the temple built by the weavers, verses 29-30.
6. The mention of the date of its construction with a poetic description of the winter season, when the temple was consecrated, verses 31-35.

7 A postscript narrating a restoration of the edifice demolished in parts, with a mention of the date of this event and a description of the season when it took place, verses 36-42

8 A wish that the temple may last for ever, verse 43

9 The name of the poet, verse 44

If one compares these contents of the composition in question with the sample I have presented in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol II pp 86 and ff (i.e. the Likhīmandal Prāśasti Ep Ind Vol I p 10), it will be seen without doubt that this composition belongs to that class of *prāśastis* (encomiums or panegyrics), of which the recent epigraphical researches have brought to light such a large number. The composition itself provides us with a clear indication that the poet also wished to have his work called by that name. For verse 44 says—"By the order of the guild and owing to their devotion, was built, this temple of the Sun, and the above was composed, with great troubles, by Vatsabhāttī

'The above' (*परिता*) is an expression which occurs frequently in later inscriptions of this type and which must be supplemented by the word *prāśasti* as Mr Fleet also remarks in the note to this verse. The fact that the actual title of the composition is not mentioned but is only indicated, proves that in Vatsabhāttī's time there were many such *prāśastis* and that it was a familiar custom in the 5th century, to glorify the erection of temples and other edifices, by means of such occasional compositions.

Another interesting point in the foregoing verse is Vatsabhāttī's assurance that he composed his work *prajatnena* 'with a great effort'. By this he means to say, no doubt, that he utilized with care the best samples and strove to observe very carefully the rules of poetics and metre. This careful study and this effort to do justice to the pretensions of the art of court poetry are to be marked in every verse. The very eagerness with which the author takes advantage of every little circumstance to bring in poetic details and descriptions, shows that he wished to do his best to make his

more instructive would be the attempt to place the most important images and turns of expression side by side with similar ones in the Kāvyas and thus to show that quite a number of expressions characteristic of the *Latja* style occurs in Vatsabhātti's *prāśasti*:

Even the praise of the Sun in the *mangala* contains several points of relationship with passages in classical poems which are devoted to the glorification of the same godhood. The first two strophes

1 'My the light giver (*Bhaskara*), the cause of the destruction and origin of the world, protect you, the god whom the host of gods worship, for purpose of their own preservation, the Siddhas (the accomplished), because they strive for higher accomplishments, the yogins entirely given to meditation, and having their objects of desire under their control, because they long for liberation, and the sages rich in severe penance, powerful through their cursing as well as favouring, from deep devotion of the heart !'

2 'An adoration to the Generator (*Sacuti*), whom even the zealous Brahmin sages knowing the truth, do not fully comprehend, who supports the three worlds with his far reaching rays, whom Gindharies, gods, Siddhis, Kinnaras and men, praise, as he rises, who fulfils the desires of his devotees !'

comprise briefly the ideas which are met with in the *Puranas*, in the writings of *Sauras*, which identify the Sun with the world spirit, and even in still older works. Amongst the court poets there is one Mayura, in whose *Suryasatka*, a prayer addressed to the Sun, we have almost every one of the ideas contained in the verses above, repeated and with much the same form of expression. As Vatsabhātti praises the Sun as being the generator and the destroyer of the world, so also Mayura identifies him, in verse 99, with Brahman, Vishnu and Siva, the three gods who generate, preserve and destroy the Universe. As the *prāśasti* speaks of the worship of the Sun and of the prayers offered to him at dawn, so also does the *Suryasatka* frequently emphasise the idea that men and spiritual beings adore the Sun in the morning, only with this difference that the number of the divine and semi-divine

abovementioned *anta* in *samudranta* (verse 23), and *trasta* (verse 7) so also the altogether meaningless prefixes *trati* and *abhi* in *trativibhatis* (verse 3) and *abhibhatis* (verse 19); so also we meet with quite striking tautologies, e. g. in *dhyanasikagraparash* (verse 1), where, however the synonymous words *ekagra* and *para* may perhaps be supposed to be put together in order to make the idea of the complete merging clearer and more emphatic, but in *tulopamānam* (verse 10), it is very difficult even to find an appearance of excuse for the simultaneous use of the two synonymous words. Further, Vatsabhatti commits offences against grammar for purposes of metre. A slight mistake of the kind is the use of the Atmanepada in *nyavaasnta* (versa 15) instead of Parasmaipada, though this may perhaps be excused owing to its similar use in epic poetry and on the ground of [analogous mistake met with in the *kavyas*. Far worse however, is the use of masculine form *sprisann=iva* instead of the neuter *sprisad=iva* (verse 38) which has to agree with the substantive *grisham* (verse 37). Mr Fleet of course proposes to write *sprisatva* but it would not at all suit the metre. Besides with this alteration, the whole construction would not only be changed but broken up into pieces, because then the locatives in verses 39-40 would be altogether hanging in the air. With the text as we have it *samskaritam* 'was repaired' (verse 37) is the verb in the principal sentence with which all the following words which are attributes of the time, can be quite rightly connected if, however we write *sprisatva*, this itself, then, becomes the principal verb and then we must translate as follows —

37. 'This temple of the Sun with the genetous guild caused to be built up again in all its parts very stately in order to further their renown'

38. The temple, which was exceedingly high glowing white, the resting place of the pure rays of the Sun and the

'Moon at their rise, touched, as it were, the sky, with its charming turrets.'

Here the sentence is complete, and there is no verb with which the following words, 'after five hundred and twenty-nine years had passed, on the second day of the bright half of the lovely month of Tapasya' can be construed. Thus Vatsabhatti cannot be freed from the charge of having used a wrong gender, out of regard for the metre. We may suppose that he might have been conscious of the fault but that he might have consoled himself with the beautiful principle :

म पमपि मषं कुर्पाद्वितीरङ्गं विवर्जयेत् ।

according to which the correctness of the metrical form precedes every other consideration.

We can easily believe him as capable of such blunders, for, in the second half of verse 30

यज्ञाति पश्चिमपुरस्य निविष्टकान्तचूदामणिप्रतिसमं नयनामिराम् ॥

we come across something worse, a fault in construction. The genitive *paśchimapura:sva* goes with *Chudamani*, and there is no substantive which is connected with *nivishla*. The grammatically correct form should have been *paśchimapure*, but that would not have suited the metre. To the category of poetical absurdities not specially alleged belong verses 7-8, where at first *sarawsi* 'the lakes' in general is used, then again *kuachil sarawsi* 'the lakes in some places' is used. Further in verses 10-12, the poet first speaks of *grihāni* 'the houses,' then again of *anyāni* 'other houses', and lastly again of *grihāni* 'the houses' in general.

Notwithstanding all these facts, it cannot be denied that Vatsabhatti was a versifier perhaps learned, but clumsy and little gifted. This conclusion appears in no way surprising, if we remember that he never lived at the court of his native place Daśapura, but was a man of limited means or of moderate circumstances. If Vatsabhatti would have been able to boast of a place at the court of Bandhuvārmī or even of a

mere connection with him, he would not have failed to let posterity know of the same or at least to praise his master as a patron of poetry. As nothing like this is done by him, we would not be wrong in supposing that he was a private man of learning, of the type found in all Indian cities, that he had specially studied the worldly lores and that he was not ashamed of making money by composing a piece of poetry occasionally, even when such a low class of people as the silk-weavers required his services.

Thus it is quite evident that the points of affinity with the classical literature, which are presented by a composition originating from such a man as Vatsabhatti are possessed of great significance. When we know that Vatsabhatti was not an original genius, but only a man who sought, with great effort in the sweat of his brow, to compile a medley of the classical modes of expression and exerted himself, though with little success, to play variations on the same or to improve upon them, then the supposition cannot be gainsaid that in the fifth century, there existed a *kavya* literature quite similar to that known to us already. This conclusion is still further confirmed by the fact that all the above *prasastis* in Mr. Fleet's volume which were composed between the year 400 and the year of Vatsabhatti's, present the same close relations to the *kavyas* known to us. We agree that a large number of these is no doubt of an insignificant character, and is written by private men of learning of the province as for instance, the Dasapura *prasasti*, but there still remains the stamp of the *kavya* on them. One of the few pieces which shows a higher talent, is Mr. Fleet's Number VI. Although the first two verses are very much distorted, still it can be unmistakably seen that it is written in a high style and by a real poet.

The fragments of the first verse.—

यदन्तर्ज्यैतिरक्षिभसुयाम * ~ ~ ~

* * * * — दयापि चन्द्रगुप्तालयमद्वतम् ॥

remind us of Ganadasa's words in Kālidasa's *Malavikāgnimitra*:
 महस्यलु पुरुषादिकारमिदं ज्योतिः ॥ In the conclusion which is better preserved, the author gives his name and applies to himself the title of *kavi*. It runs thus:—

सस्य राजाधिराजेष्वरविन्द्योज्जवलकर्मणः ।
 अन्वयप्राप्तसादिष्यो इपापृतः सान्विदिप्रहः ॥ ३ ॥
 कौस्तः शाव हृति क्यातो धीरसेनः कुलाद्यया ।
 शब्दार्थन्यायलोकः कवि पाटलिपुत्रकः ॥ ४ ॥
 कृत्स्नपृष्ठीजयार्थेन राजैषेह सहागतः ।
 भक्त्या भगवतः शम्भोर्ज्ञामेतामकारयत् ॥ ५ ॥

3-4. 'Virsena, known by the family name of Kautsa Sāba, well-versed in grammar, politics, logic and the course of the world, a poet, living in Pataliputra, who served as a hereditary minister to the sage-like king of kings, who performed deeds inconceivable and bright.'

5. 'Came here (to Udayagiri) with the king himself, who intended to conquer the whole earth and caused this cave to be constructed, out of devotion for the divine Sambhu.'

The poet Virasena lived about the year 400 A. D.: for as Mr. Fleet's No. III shows, Chandragupta II, had conquered the province of Mālvā in the middle of the Gupta year 82, i. e. 400/1 or 401/2 A. D. Thus the invasion, on which Virasena accompanied his master, can be undertaken not later than (but rather earlier) in the beginning of the year mentioned above. At this time, Virasena, as the verses above state, was the minister of foreign affairs. That a minister occupied himself with poetry leads us to conjecture that Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya looked upon the Muses with favour or that poetry had at least the right to appear at Court.

II. Harishena's panegyric of Samudragupta.

THE second one of the inscriptions which we are going to examine, Harishena's panegyric of Samudragupta, presents many points of close touch with the *Kāvya* literature preserved and proves in the clearest manner that court-poetry was a subject most assiduously cultivated in the fourth century of our era. Harishena's panegyric covered originally thirty lines and a half and consisted of eight verses in the beginning, a long prose-passage and a concluding verse. All the three parts together form one single, gigantic sentence. Unfortunately, the four lines in the beginning containing two verses have been entirely lost and lines 4-16 have been distorted more or less, so that we have only one of the introductory verses, in a complete form. The subscription of the author in ll. 31-33 informs us that not only the metrical lines but the whole of the composition is to be regarded as *Kāvya*. It is said there:—

' And may this *kāvya*, of the slave of the feet of this same lord, whose intelligence was expanded by the favour of dwelling near (His Majesty), the minister of foreign affairs, and the counsellor of the royal prince, the great General Harishena, the son of Khādyatapākika and of the great General Dhruvabhuṭi, lead to the welfare and happiness of all beings. The accomplishment of the same was, however, looked after by the great General Tilakabhatta who meditates with reverence on the feet of his lord '

Thus, this little composition of Harishena belongs to that class of mixed compositions which in poetics are frequently called by the name *champū*, while the oldest works preserved for us, such as *Vāsavadattā*, *Kādambarī*, *Harshacharita* and *Dusakumāracharita* are called by the name of *ākhyayika* or *katha*, ' a narration, a romance '. It possesses a certain relationship with the descriptions of kings, which are found in the *ākhyayikas*. Similar to these last, the description, in the

ture only the *Bharatavākya* at the end of the *Vikramorvāsi*, where Kālidāsa prays that this antagonism should cease.—

परस्परविशेषिन्योरेकसंथयदुर्लभम् ।
संगतं श्रीसरसवत्योर्भूतमेस्तु सदा सताम् ॥

' May the union of the mutually hostile goddesses Śrī and Sarasvatī, which is to be found only rarely in one place, bring good luck to the good ! '

Further, the author mentions in verse 8, which will be given yet more fully later on, amongst the high excellances of the king, शशिकरशुचयः कीर्तयः सप्रतानाः: 'the same sprouting forth, shining purely like the moon' and thus bears evidence to his being aware of the well-known idea of the *kirtivalli* or the creeper of fame, which covers over the three worlds with its tendrils. With this may be compared in the field of classical literature, *Sārngadhara-paddhati*, No. 1235

A third most favourite poetic representation of fame is met with in the second compound in I, 23, referring to Samudragupta:—'Whose fame arising from the re-establishment of many fallen kingdoms and of many extinguished royal races, is tired by its journey through the three worlds.' Hemachandra also in the *prāśasti* to his grammar, verse 29, similarly speaks of the want of rest for his master's fame.

यदैर्भूमिष्टलकुण्डलीकृतधनुर्दन्डेन सिद्धाधिप
हीरं वैरिकुलात्वया ००० दलस्कुण्डावदातं यशः ।
भ्रान्त्वा श्रीणि जगान्ति खेदविवशं समालवीनां व्यघा-
दापाण्डा स्तनमण्डले च धवले गण्डस्थलेवास्थितिम् ॥

' With the bow bent into a circular form by your arm stretched round, you won, oh King Siddha, your fame that shines whitely like the blooming flower of the jasmin; being rendered helpless through the exhaustion of wandering through the three worlds, that your fame has at last rested

is unnecessary; and one believes as if he sees the scene with his own eyes, how the old Chandragupta, in the presence of his sons, each of whom hoped to have the highest fortune, and of his court household who were afraid lest the choice may fall on an unworthy person, turns round to his favourite son. This verse is one of the best productions the Indians have given us, in the domain of miniature-portraits, which is their forte. This very example would also illustrate Harishena's special care for the choice and arrangement of words, a qualification which can be easily seen even in other parts of the composition, both metrical and prose. In the prose part, there are inserted between the long compounds, at definite intervals shorter phrases, in order to enable the reciter to draw his breath and the hearer to catch the sense. In the long compounds, the words are so chosen as to bring about a certain rhythm through the succession of short and long syllables; and care is taken to see that this rhythm changes from time to time.

In Harishena's poetical imagery, we come across many conceptions that are very familiarly met with in the *Kavya* literature. Some of these have been already dwelt upon, while discussing the concluding part of his composition. We now notice a few others. The fragment of verse 3 says:—

'The order of the possessor of the true meaning of the *Sastras* whose heart is highly happy at the association with the good,—multiplied as its power is, by the virtues of the wise—puts an end to the war between good poetry and prosperity and thus enjoys in the world of the learned, a far-extending sovereignty whose shining glory endures in many poems.'

Here we have the exceedingly favourite allegory of the fight or discord between the Muse and the Goddess of wealth, which condemns the poet and the learned man to poverty and makes the rich incapable of service to Wisdom and Art. By way of comparison, I quote here from the classical litera-

ture only the *Bharatavakyā* at the end of the *Vikramorvāśi*, where Kālidāsa prays that this antagonism should cease —

परस्परविरोधिन्योरेकसंथयदुर्बभम् ।
संगतं भीसरस्त्वयोर्भूतयेस्तु सदा सताम् ॥

' May the union of the mutually hostile goddesses Śtī and Sarasvatī, which is to be found only rarely in one place bring good luck to the good ! '

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कृतं वैरिकुलाच्चया ००० दलस्कुण्डावदातं यशः ।
भ्रात्वा त्रिणि जगान्ति खेदविवर्णं तन्मालवीनां दयधा-
दापाण्डां स्तनमण्डले च धवले गण्डस्थलेवास्थितिम् ॥

' With the bow bent into a circular form by your arm stretched round you won, oh king Siddha, your fame that shines whitely like the blooming flower of the jasmin, being rendered helpless through the exhaustion of wandering through the three worlds, that your fame has at last rested

itself on the palid, round breasts and the white cheeks of the Malava women.'

In l. 25, again, we have quite an original conception which is meant to illustrate how far Samudragupta's glory obscured that of all his rivals. The poet there praises Samudragupta as a ruler 'who, in consequence of the overflow of his many virtues elevated through hundreds of good works, wiped off with his feet the fame of other kings'

The idea seems to be that the leaves, on which the fame of other kings is written, lie before Samudragupta. The flow of his virtues streams over them, and he is only required to stir his foot, to obliterate the praises of the rulers of antiquity. I cannot point out anything in literature, which exactly corresponds to this. Nevertheless, it cannot escape the attention of any one, that the conception quite fits in with the character of the style of court-poets.

In the next line (26), we meet with a comparison which occurs frequently in the epics and which is used in later times by almost every classical poet and in every *granthi*—where Samudragupta is celebrated as a king 'who resembles Dhanada, Varuna, Indra and Antaka, *i. e.*, the guardian-gods of the four directions'. Equally favourite is the immediately following *Upasā*: 'who puts to shame the preceptor of gods by his sharp and subtle understanding, and Tumburu, Nārada and others, by his lovely performances of music.' About the comparison of the king with Brihaspati, we have spoken above on page 144. As for the statement that Samudragupta was a better musician than the well-known Gandharva and the sage of gods who invented the *vīṇā*, an explanation is furnished by the coins, as Mr. Fleet has pertinently remarked, on which Samudragupta is represented as a lute-player. For the last climax of hyperbolical representation, we also meet with analogies in the *kāvya*s. When Harishena says in l. 27-28, that his master is 'a god dwelling in this world, whose many

marvellous and noble deeds deserve to be praised for a very long time and who is a man only in that he performs the acts necessary according to the conventions of the world,' we are reminded, in the first place, of Bāna's description of his patron, Harsha (*Sri Harshach rita*, p. 207-208), where his deeds have been put on a level with those of Indra, Prajāpti, Vishnu and Siva, and he himself has been identified with these gods. A still more important parallel is provided by the statements of the Prākrit poet, Vākpati, about Yaśovarman of Kanauj (*Gaudaraho*; verses 167-181), according to which, the king is an incarnation of Bālaka-Hari or Vishnu. As is to be expected of a poet of the eighth century, Vākpati expresses the idea with a greater elaboration of details.

Many more points of relationship with the *kāvya* literature can be discovered in the individual expressions of our *prāśastis*. It would suffice if I only point to *uṣaguhya* (for *āśishya*), *bhāva-śūna*, *mīlā śāna*, *sneha-vyālutila*, *bashpa-guru* (all in verse 4), *adbhut-oabhiṣna-harsha* (verse 5), *uchchāfaktra*, *tosh-ctlunga*, *encharphulla*, and the frequent use of *sphulu*. The parallel passages given in both the Petersburg lexicons spare me the trouble of giving here many new quotations. Whoever is familiar with the diction of the *kāvyas*, will not require any special proof, but will at once recognise the affinity of these and other modes of expression to those used by classical poets.

Now, we have to notice a number of cases, especially in the prosepart, where Harishena obviously tried to surpass his rivals in the composition of *prāśastis*. To this category belong most of the long compounds in lines 17-24, in which the closing part especially comes now and then as a surprise and deviates very much from the usual track. Thus, in line 21, for instance, instead of saying that Samudragupta had acquired great power through the forcible extinction of many kings of Āryāvarta, Harishena represents his master as a prince 'who was great through, his power which expanded itself through the forcible extinction of many kings of the land of the Āryas.'

reciter and the hearer, resting pauses between long compounds, by inserting shorter words or phrases made up of shorter words, some of which are not unlike those inserted for the same purpose in the classical samples of works written in high prose. Of the *Alamkaras* the poets make use of 'Alliteration, *Uṣama* *Uṣṭreksha*, and *Rūpaka* and at any rate an attempt at *S'lesha*. As compared with what we find in the classical works, the figures of speech are, in the first place, used much more rarely, and in the second place, are executed with much less care and skill. Sometimes these rise not at all or only very little, above the level of what is found in the epics. So also we are reminded of the language of the epics by the several grammatical forms which are used by the author of the *prāśasti* of the Sudarśana lake. It appears very probable that in the second century there had been many superior and more elaborate compositions; because the author of the Girnar inscription was only an obscure provincial writer.

Side by side with works written in high prose there existed, as is to be expected, and as is distinctly shown by the Girnar *prāśasti*, metrical works whose form essentially agreed with the rules laid down, in the oldest available manuals, for the *Vaidarbha* style. Further this accordance with rules naturally points to the existance of an *Alamkara-śāstra* or some theory of the poetic art. Both these kinds of composition were equally esteemed with the Brahmanic sciences, at the courts of Indian princes, and in spite of the lacunae in the Girnar inscriptions it is hardly to be doubted that a personal occupation with poesy is ascribed to the king and great Satrap Rudradāman, the grandson of a non-Atyan governer of an Indo-Scythian ruler. Be this right or not, it is in any case evident that the poesy resembling the classical *Kāvya* in essential features, enjoyed the royal favour, in the second century as it did in later times and that it was cultivated at the Indian Courts. In no case can it be said that the Brahmanic science and literature was extinguished by the invasions and the rule of the barbarian foreigners. If we suppose that the *prāśasti*

informs us of pure historical truth, then its contents clearly show that the life of literature in the second century must have attained to such a richness and strength as to win over to itself even the descendants of barbarians. Thus it naturally follows that the *Kāvya* could not have been a new discovery in the second century, but it must have had a long previous history which went back to the times when Aryan princes were exclusive rulers of India. For this reason it would not be certainly going too far to assert that the Girnar prafasti makes probable the existence of the *Kāvya* style, even in the first century.

A very large number of *prafastis* go to prove that in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, the *Kāvya* literature was in its full bloom and that the *Kāvya* did not at all differ from those handed down to us. The second independent Gupta king whose reign, no doubt covered the greatest part of the second half of the fourth century, Samudragupta Parakramanka, was himself a poet, and received from his admirers the title *Kavirāja*. He supported several poets who at the same time were Pandits and put an end as far as he could, to the old antagonism between the Muses and Plutus. His courtiers followed the example of their master, and the panegyric by Hiribhūmi the minister of foreign affairs and the counsellor of the prince royal shows that Samudragupta had at least one poet, of whom he had no reason to be ashamed.

Harishena's *Kāvya* is in every respect an artistically finished little work, which places its author in a line with Kalidasa and Dandin. Its style is that of the Vidarbha School. The very fact that Harishena himself belonged to the north-east of India shows that, there must have preceded this time, a period of literature, during which, poets from Berar in northern Deccan, accomplished much and brought their particular taste to a high repute. Probably this full bloom of the Vidarbha as will fall in the third century or at the latest in the beginning of the fourth century. Under Samudragupta's successor, Chandragupta II Vikramaditya poetry must have instantly

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enjoyed the patronage of the court, in as much as even the king's minister took to himself the title of a *kavi*. The little proof of his art, handed down to us discloses at any rate great cleverness, if not a real poetic talent as such. Even this little composition is written in the style of the Vidarbha School. The same holds good of the *prashastis* of the time of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta. The works in existence are however, most insignificant, a phenomenon which is satisfactorily explained by the fact that they were all written by provincial writers. In the second half of the fourth century, in Vatsabhatti's *prashasti* we see traces of the existence of the school of the Gaudas, the poets of eastern India. This work should be called rather the exercise of a scholar who busied himself with the study of the *Kāvya* literatures than a product of an actual poet. We can see therein that its author had studied the *Kāvyas* and Rhetorics, but that, in spite of all the trouble he took to produce a real *Kāvya* he possessed little of inborn talent. Small offences against good taste, such as the use of expletives and tautologous words, are more frequently met with. In one place the author is led to forget one of the most elementary rules of Grammar, by the exigencies of metre; in another place in his zeal to form long compounds, he is tempted to disregard the rule, always observed by good writers, according to which the weak pause can never come at the end of a half verse. In a third place, he jumbles together two ideas in a manner the least permissible; and his attempt to bring out a new comparison between the clouds and the houses leads in no way to a happy result.

These defects in Vatsabhatti's *prashasti* make it the more important for the historian of literature, in as much as they bear testimony to the fact that everything worthy of attention in the *prashasti* is gathered from the literature of his time and compiled into a whole. Thus, on the one hand, we are assured of the fact that about the year 472 A. D. there was a rich *kavya* literature in existence; and on the other hand, greater weight is gained by the points of accordance with the works

handed down to us, which the *prāśnī* presents. It has been already pointed out above that verse 10 of the *prāśasti* only repeats, for the most part, the comparsion contained in verse 65 of *Meghadūta*, with some new points added in a very forced way; while the remaining points contained in that verse of Kālidāsa, find themselves repeated in verse 11 of the *prāśasti*. Further it is to be noted that Vatsabhātti, like Kālidāsa, shows a special predilection for the word *subhuga*, and that he while describing the king Bandhuvarman, plays upon his name just in the same way as Kālidāsa does with the names of Raghus, whom he describes in the beginning of Sarga XVIII of *Raghuvamśa*. These facts make the conjecture more probable, that Vatsabhātti knew and made use of the works of Kālidāsa. The same view is advocated by Prof. Kielhorn in a publication, "The Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 529. (472 A. D.) and Kālidāsa's *Ritusamhāra*, Gottingen 1890". He reads in verse 31 of the *prāśasti* रुमासनाथमवनोदरभास्तरांगु—कःहिप्रतापमुभग्नं instead of ° सवने दर °, and shows that the verse sufficiently agrees with *Ritusamhāra* V. 203, in both words and thoughts, as there are only two new points added. The truth of his assertion that v. 31 of the the *prāśasti* is an imitation of *Ritusamhāra* v. 2. 3, appears to me quite undeniable. If we may believe in the tradition which ascribes *Ritusamhāra* to the author of *Meghadūta*, then the point overlooked by me, which Prof. Kielhorn has made out, strengthens the probability of the supposition that Kālidāsa lived before 472 A.D. which is very significant. In that case it will have to be assumed that Vatsabhātti knew the *Ritusamhāra* also.

One of these conclusions—the statement that the Indian artificial poetry had developed itself not after but before the beginning of our era,—is confirmed also by references in a literary work which is by all means old. Whosoever goes through the collection of poetic citations from the *Mahābhāshya*, which Prof. Kielhorn has brought together (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV p. 326) cannot but see that the *Kavya* prospered in Patanjali's times. many of the verses exhibit metres char-

acteristic of the artificial poetry, such as *Malati*, *Prasharshini* and *Vasantalilaka*. These verses as well many others. See Kielhorn's edition of the *Mahabhashya* Vol. I. 426, 435. II. 119; III. 143, 338 in the heroic Anushtubha-S'loka agree in point of as well as the mode of expressions, not with epic but with the court Kāvya. The composition of *Mahabhashya* will have to be placed some time before first century after most probably 150 B. C.) A further for the early growth of the Sanskrit Kāvya is provided by a Buddhist work, the *Buddhacharita* of Aśvaghosha. Chinese translation was prepared between 44-420 A. The work is not a *Makakāvya* in name only, but is written in the Kāvya style. Aśvaghosha is said to be a pupil of Kanishka (78 A. D.). Even if we lay aside the question of his date and take our stand on the date of Chinese translation of the work, which is beyond doubt, the work would still possess great worth from the point of view of the history of literature. The composition of this work cannot be placed in any case later than 350-400 A. Even the bare fact that a Buddhist work, as early as 78 A. D., thought of writing the Legend of the Buddha, the rules of the poetic art, establishes a great popularity of the Brahmanical artificial poetry and confirms what arrived at above by the analysis of Harishena's *Atharvashilpi*. A thorough examination of the *Buddhacharita*, and a comparison of its style with that of the older Kāvya and with the rules of the oldest manual of Rhetorics will without doubt lead to more definite and more important results. If we confine the scope of our work to the epics we will be able to get quite a complete picture of the gradual growth of Indian poesy. Such investigations of which a beginning has been made especially in the works of Prof. Jacobi. Outside the limit of this essay whose only aim is to point in a general way the significance of the study of the various forms for the Kāvya literature.